

**THE MESSAGE OF THE PSALTER
AN ESCHATOLOGICAL PROGRAMME IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that both this thesis and the research upon which it is based are my own work.

David C. Mitchell
31 March 1995

THESIS ABSTRACT

The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms.

This thesis attempts to demonstrate that the final form of the Psalter has been redacted so as to reflect an anticipated sequence of eschatological events. It therefore falls within the broad discipline of Canon Criticism of the Psalter, and builds on the work of scholars such as Childs, Brennan, Wilson, McCann, and Sheppard. Chapter I reviews Psalms interpretation from the Septuagint to modern times, and concludes that with the exception of the period c.1850-1980, most interpreters have regarded the Psalter as having (i) literary unity and (ii) an eschatologico-predictive nature. Chapter II suggests there is internal evidence in the Psalter to support this view. However, contemporary scholarship on the canonical form of the Psalter emphasizes either the general eschatological tendency of its arrangement (Childs, Brennan) or else seeks to discern a historical event-sequence in it (Wilson, Sheppard, Walton, Mays). No-one has yet proposed a fully eschatological explanation for the sequence of Psalms. In the remainder of the thesis we attempt to do this.

Chapter III suggests the Psalms of Asaph (Pss 50, 73-83) can be read as depicting a sequence of latterday events beginning with the ingathering of Israel from exile (Ps 50:5) and culminating in the ingathering of an alliance of hostile nations against Jerusalem (Ps 83). Chapter IV suggests the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134) can be read as depicting a latterday pilgrimage to the Feast of Sukkoth in Jerusalem in a post-war messianic *malkut*. Chapter V examines eschatological programmes in Ezk 34-48, Zech 9-14, and Joel 3-4, and suggests they feature a sequence of gathering motifs: (i) Israel gather from exile; (ii) hostile nations gather against Israel, but are subdued; (iii) Israel and all the nations gather to worship at Sukkoth on Zion.

In the light of the analysis presented in chapters III-V, chapter VI proceeds to suggest that the Psalms of Asaph represent precisely that period in the prophetic programmes from the ingathering of Israel to the ingathering of hostile nations, while the Songs of Ascents represent the ingathering to worship on Zion in the aftermath of the eschatological deliverance. Parallels of language, theology, imagery, and literary technique between the ingatherings and the psalm-cycles are adduced in support of this proposal. Chapter VII examines the latest and most sophisticated eschatological programme, Zech 9-14, which adds two elements following the eschatological conflict: (i) the affliction of a latterday Davidic king, and (ii) an ensuing exile for Israel. These motifs, together with the ingathering motifs, form a single complex eschatological programme which reappears in intertestamental literature, Qumran, NT, and post-Temple apocalyptic midrashim. Chapter VIII suggests that the royal psalms depict the messianic details of this programme. Chapter IX suggests that Book IV represents Israel's latterday exile in the wilderness of the nations. Thus the eschatological programme of Zech 9-14 is represented in the Psalter as follows.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (1) Bridegroom-King comes to Daughter Zion. | Ps 45. |
| (2) Ingathering of scattered Israel to Jerusalem. | Psalms of Asaph (cf. Ps 50). |
| {(3) Temporary messianic <i>malkut</i> . | Ps 72.} |
| (4) Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem. | Psalms of Asaph (cf. Ps 83). |
| (5) Cutting-off of latterday king. | Ps 89. |
| (6) Israel exiled in desert. Gather and return to Zion. | Book IV (Pss 90-106). |
| (7) Deliverance by Superhero-King from heaven. | Ps 110. |
| (8) Ascent of Israel and all nations to Sukkoth on Zion. | Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134). |

Chapter X briefly proposes how other details of the Psalter, including the five-book division, might fit into this schema. An appendix follows, containing six apocalyptic midrashim dating from c.200-1000 CE, translated into English for the first time: *Aggadat Mashiah*, *Otot ha-Mashiah*, *Sefer Zerubbavel*, *Asereth Melakhim*, *Pirqê Mashiah*, and *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai*. These serve to confirm that an eschatological programme, such as that which we identify in chapter VII, was indeed known to some early Jewish writers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Old Testament

OT	Old Testament	Prov	Proverbs
Gen	Genesis	Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Ex	Exodus	Song	Song of Songs
Lev	Leviticus	Isa	Isaiah
Num	Numbers	Jer	Jeremiah
Dt	Deuteronomy	Lam	Lamentations
Josh	Joshua	Ezk	Ezekiel
Judg	Judges	Dan	Daniel
Ruth	Ruth	Hos	Hosea
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Joel	Joel
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Amos	Amos
1 Ki	1 Kings	Ob	Obadiah
2 Ki	2 Kings	Jonah	Jonah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Mic	Micah
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Nah	Nahum
Ezra	Ezra	Hab	Habakkuk
Neh	Nehemiah	Zeph	Zephaniah
Est	Esther	Hag	Haggai
Job	Job	Zech	Zechariah
Ps(s)	Psalms	Mal	Malachi

New Testament

NT	New Testament	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Mt	Matthew	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Mk	Mark	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Lk	Luke	Titus	Titus
Jn	John	Phlm	Philemon
Acts	Acts	Heb	Hebrews
Rom	Romans	Jas	James
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	1 Pt	1 Peter
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	2 Pt	2 Peter
Gal	Galatians	1 Jn	1 John
Eph	Ephesians	2 Jn	2 John
Phil	Philippians	3 Jn	3 John
Col	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians	Rev	Rev

Bible translations.

Aq	Aquila	NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
LXX	Septuagint	RSV	Revised Standard Version
MT	Masoretic Text	Symm	Symmachus
NEB	New English Bible	Tg	Targum
NIV	New International Version	Vg	Vulgate

Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

2ApocBar	2 (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch
1En	1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch
2En	2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch
Ep. Barn	The Epistle of Barnabas
3 Ezra	3 Ezra (1 Esdras)
4 Ezra	4 Ezra
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
3 Macc	3 Maccabees
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
PssSol	The Psalms of Solomon
SibOr	The Sybilline Oracles
Sir	Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus)
T12P	The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
TAsh	The Testament of Asher (T12P)
TBen	The Testament of Benjamin (T12P)
TDan	The Testament of Dan (T12P)
TGad	The Testament of Gad (T12P)
TIss	The Testament of Issachar (T12P)
TJos	The Testament of Joseph (T12P)
TJud	The Testament of Judah (T12P)
TLev	The Testament of Levi (T12P)
TNaph	The Testament of Naphtali (T12P)
TReub	The Testament of Reuben (T12P)
TSim	The Testament of Simeon (T12P)
TZeb	The Testament of Zebulun (T12P)

Dead Sea Scrolls and related terms. (Texts generally referred to only by their reference numbers are not included.)

CD	Cairo (Genizah text of the) Damascus (Document)
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
Col.	Column
Fr.	Fragment
Mas	Masada texts
MasPs ^a	Masada Psalms fragment
p	Pesher
Q	Qumran
1Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran
1QH	<i>Hodayot</i> (The Hymns Scroll)
1QpHab	Habakkuk pesher
1QM	<i>Milhamah</i> (The War Scroll)
1QS	<i>Serekh hayyahad</i> (The Community Rule)
1QSa	Appendix A (Rule of the Congregation) to 1QS

1QSB	Appendix B (Blessings) to 1QS
4QTL ^{vi}	Testament of Levi
4Q174	Florilegium
4Q175	Testimonia
4Q285	The Pierced Nasi
11QMelch	Melchizedek
11QPs ^a	The Psalms Scroll. Also 11QPs ^b , Ps ^c , etc.
11QPsAp ^a	Possibly an exorcistic text

Mishnaic and talmudic tractates cited.

Ber	Berakhoth	Git	Gittin
Bik	Bikkurim	Kid	Kiddushin
Shab	Shabbat	BK	Baba Kamma
Erub	Erubin	BM	Baba Mezia
Pes	Pesahim	BB	Baba Batra
Shek	Shekalim	Sanh	Sanhedrin
Yoma	Yoma	Shebu	Shebuot
Suk	Sukkah	Edu	Eduyot
RH	Rosh ha-Shanah	AZ	Abodah Zarah
Taan	Taanit	Ab	Abot
Meg	Megillah	Zeb	Zebahim
MK	Moed Katan	Hul	Hullin
Hag	Hagigah	Arak	Arakhin
Yeb	Yebamot	Tam	Tamid
Ket	Ketubot	Mid	Middot
Ned	Nedarim	Nid	Niddah
Sot	Sotah		

Other rabbinic texts and related terms.

AgM	Aggadat Mashiah (see Appendix I)
AsM	Asereth Melakhim (see Appendix I)
b	Babylonian Talmud
DtR	Midrash Rabbah to Deuteronomy
EccIR	Midrash Rabbah to Ecclesiastes
EstR	Midrash Rabbah to Esther
ExR	Midrash Rabbah to Exodus
GenR	Midrash Rabbah to Genesis
LamR	Midrash Rabbah to Lamentations
LevR	Midrash Rabbah to Leviticus
m	Mishnah
MI	Mekilta of Rabbi Ishmael
MidTan	Midrash Tanhuma
MidTeh	Midrash Tehillim (Midrash on Psalms)
MidW	Midrash Wayyosha (<i>BHMI</i> :35-37)
MRSbY	Mekilta of Rav Shimon ben Yohai
NRSbY	Nistarot Rav Shim'on ben Yohai (see Appendix I)
NumR	Midrash Rabbah to Numbers
Otot	Otot ha-Mashiah (see Appendix I)
PdRK	Pesikta de Rav Kahana
PirM	Pirqê Mashiah (see Appendix I)
PR	Pesikta Rabbati
PRE	Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer

RuthR	Midrash Rabbah to Ruth
Tg	Targum
TgJon	Targum Jonathan
TgPs-Jon	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
SefZ	Sefer Zerubbabel (see Appendix I)
SongR	Midrash Rabbah to the Song of Songs
t	Tosefta
y	Jerusalem Talmud

Periodicals, reference works, and serials.

<i>BDB</i>	Brown, Driver, & Briggs, <i>Hebrew Lexicon</i>
<i>BHM</i>	<i>Bet ha-Midrash</i> , (ed.) Jellinek
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
<i>BTFT</i>	<i>Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie</i>
<i>BZAW</i>	Beihefte zur ZAW
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , (ed.) Geerard
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , (ed.) Dekkers
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus</i> , Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris)
<i>DJD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i> , (eds.) Allegro, <i>et al.</i>
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> , (ed.) Roth
<i>ET</i>	English Translation
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTS</i>	<i>JSNT Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTS</i>	<i>JSOT Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KTU</i>	<i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> , (ed.) Dietrich, Loretz, & Sanmartin
<i>NCE</i>	<i>New Catholic Encyclopædia</i> , (ed.) McDonald
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , (ed.) Cross
<i>OS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
<i>PCB</i>	<i>Peake's Commentary on the Bible</i> , (eds.) Black and Rowley
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , (ed.) Migne
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , (ed.) Migne
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>

<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RS</i>	Ras Shamra Text
<i>Rv Ex</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>STL</i>	<i>Studia Theologica Lundensia</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , (ed.) Bromiley
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , (ed.) Botterweck & Ringgren
<i>ThB</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>T. & K.</i>	<i>Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

כל הנביאים כולן לא נתנבאו אלא לימות המשיח:

bBer 34b; bSan 99a.

Ordo psalmorum, qui mihi magni sacramenti videtur
continere secretum, nondum mihi fuerit revelatus.

Augustine,
Enarrationes in Psalmos, 150.i.

I. A Review of Psalms Interpretation.

This thesis is a contribution to the contemporary debate on the purpose and message of the Psalter. It maintains the Hebrew Psalter was designed by its redactors as a purposefully ordered arrangement of lyrics with an eschatological message. This message, as in many other Jewish documents of Second Temple times, features a sequence of eschatological events. These include Israel in exile, the appearance of a messianic superhero, the ingathering of Israel, the attack of the nations, the hero's suffering, the scattering of Israel in the wilderness, their ingathering and further imperilment, the appearance of a superhero from the heavens to rescue them, the establishment of his *malkut* from Zion, the prosperity of Israel, and the homage of the nations.

However, before discussing the event-sequence in the Psalter, the general plausibility of regarding it as a prophetic book must be demonstrated. This involves two distinct but related issues: arrangement and purpose. The Psalter may be regarded as a book, rather than an *ad hoc* collection, if it bears evidence of careful arrangement. It may be regarded as prophetic, in the sense of predicting the future, if the book was designed by its redactors to refer to future events. In order to demonstrate this, we must therefore examine the evidence for redactional structuring and eschatological orientation in the Psalter. This shall be done in two stages. First, in this chapter, we shall review the entire history of Psalms interpretation, with particular reference to its arrangement and purpose. We will also consider interpreters' attitudes to the Psalter's headings and doxological book divisions, as these form the Psalter's clearest structural markers. Thereafter, in the second chapter, we shall investigate the Psalter itself to see what evidence it displays to prove or disprove the opinions of the interpreters.

This chapter then is a historical retrospective of Psalms' interpretation. Yet the point at which to begin such a retrospective is hard to know, for the distinction between text and interpretation is not absolute. Psalm headings might be considered interpretation rather than text, for, although ancient, each one dates at some remove from the time of its psalm's composition. Those headings, for instance, which claim their psalms were composed by David in a particular situation, clearly come from a later hand than their lyrics, for they refer to the psalmist in the third person. Similarly, the doxological subscripts which separate the five books of the Psalter seem, with the possible exception of 106:48, to have been added to their preceding lyrics by a later redactor. However, our intention is to investigate the final form of the Masoretic Psalter. We

shall therefore regard its headings and subscripts as text rather than interpretation and begin our retrospective proper with the ancient translations.

I. The Ancient Translations.

The ancient translations all endorse the same sequence of lyrics as the Hebrew Psalter. The LXX Psalter, dating probably from the early second century BCE,¹ contains the 150 psalms of the Masoretic Text (MT), in the same sequence, together with an appended Ps 151. There are differences in the division of the lyrics. MT Pss 9-10 are one psalm in LXX, as are MT 114-115, while MT 116 and 147 each become two. This leads to divergence in enumeration.² But still LXX reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* with the same sequence of psalms as MT. It also contains the first statement that this sequence is in some sense definitive. For the heading to its Ps 151 describes this lyric as supernumerary (ἐξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ), suggesting the translators regarded it as extraneous to the foregoing 150 psalms. As Haran comments,

... despite the slight differences between the Masoretic Text and the LXX when it comes to the conjunction of chapters, the two versions are essentially the same in their arrangement of the actual material.³

Likewise, the Targum, which may date from before the turn of the era,⁴ has the same number, sequence, and enumeration of lyrics as the MT. The Peshitta Psalter is a

¹ The prologue to Ben Sira relates that when the author's grandson came to Egypt in the 38th year of Euergetes (132 BCE), not only the Law and the Prophets, but also 'the rest of the books' were already translated into Greek. This surely included the Psalms, whether they were subsumed under 'the rest of the books,' meaning, as Sarna maintains, the Hagiographa ["Psalms, Book of," *EJ* 13:1304-22) 1311], or within the Prophets, as Barton would have it [*Oracles*, 47-48]. Thus Haran states that the LXX Psalter dates from 'no later than the first half of the second century BCE' ["11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms," 194]. However, the LXX Psalter may be older still. Sarna suggests that 'the known fact that this version was made in response to the needs of the synagogue worship makes it virtually certain that the Psalms were turned into the vernacular in Alexandria even before much of the prophets' ["Psalms, Book of," *EJ* 13:1304-22) 1311]. Likewise their acknowledged importance as a group in their own right beside the Law and Prophets may have ensured early translation (See 2 Macc 2:13; Philo, *Cont.* 25; Lk 24:44).

² Enumeration is concurrent until Ps 9, where LXX Ps 9 comprises MT Pss 9 and 10. Thereafter LXX enumeration is one behind MT until LXX Ps 113, which comprises MT Pss 114 and 115. Then MT Ps 116 comprises LXX Pss 114 and 115. Thereafter LXX enumeration is again one behind MT until MT Ps 147, which comprises LXX Pss 146 and 147. Pss 148-150 concur.

³ Haran, "11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms," 194.

⁴ As regards dating, B. Grossfeld comments ["Bible: Translation: Aramaic," *EJ* 4:848-9], 'Another common feature of these two Targums [Job and Psalms] is the fact that between them they contain about a hundred variants in vowels and even consonants from the masoretic text, a feature not found with such frequency in the other Targums. Since a number of these same variants also occur in the Peshitta and Septuagint, they offer adequate proof of an early date of composition for these two Targums . . . A Targum to Job was among the many finds discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947." Grossfeld notes further evidence for the early date of Tg. Pss in its partly allegorical and partly literal nature. The allegorical parts appear to have been added to an older more literal targum. Delitzsch

fairly free translation, which seems to be dependent not only on MT, but also on LXX and Targum.⁵ It has the same sequence of lyrics as MT, but, like LXX, has additional psalms suffixed to the standard sequence. These are usually five in number, beginning with a Syriac version of LXX Ps 151. Like LXX, the Peshitta comprises MT 114 and 115 in one psalm, and MT 147 in two, giving divergent enumeration from MT.

The ancient translations endorse virtually all the internal structural markers, that is, the headings and doxologies, of the Hebrew Psalter. The LXX headings contain everything in their MT counterparts, except the לְדָוִד ascriptions in Pss 122 and 124. LXX sometimes supplements MT headings. 13 psalms have Davidic ascriptions absent in MT. Others gain other headings, leaving only Pss 1 and 2 untitled in LXX, of the 24 untitled psalms in MT. But these are additions, not alterations. The headings are fundamentally those of the Hebrew. The doxological subscripts equal those of MT, with two expansions (LXX 71:19; 105:48). The second of these emends MT's single אֲמַן to γένοιτο γένοιτο. Whether LXX is an expansion, or MT a contraction, of an earlier *Vorlage* is unclear. But the greater resemblance of the four subscripts in LXX suggests they were regarded as functionally similar structural markers early on, and that this is not an idea which developed in rabbinic times. The Targum headings and subscripts follow MT very closely:

Das Targum hat nur bei den Psalmen eine Überschrift, bei denen der Masoretische Text (M) ebenfalls eine bietet. Die 34 Psalmen, welche in M ohne Überschrift sind, werden auch in Targum (T) nicht damit versehen.⁶

The Peshitta, like LXX, expands the headings found in the MT. Its headings are often particularly expansive where MT has none, and commonly provide a short message to the reader as well as a historical statement about the psalm.⁷ Nonetheless, although it adds to the Hebrew headings, it omits little. Thus the ancient translations generally render MT's structural markers in full. This is as striking as their adopting unaltered the Hebrew sequence of psalms. For later redactors might well have wished to reunite psalms which share common headings – the psalms of David, Asaph, and Korah – and are divided in the MT Psalter. Yet despite good reason to change the received sequence, either by altering the headings or rearranging the lyrics, they adhered

also notes that the more literal character of Tg. Pss suggests its composition prior to other targums, which tend to be more allegorical [*Psalms*, I:52].

⁵ Weitzman, "The Origin," 283-4; "The Peshitta Psalter," 354.

⁶ Preuss, "Die Psalmenüberschriften," 44.

⁷ See J.-M. Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes dans la Peshitta," 210-35. He lists variant headings on pp. 215-219.

faithfully to the MT-type sequence with its many peculiarities. They apparently regarded this arrangement not as fortuitous, but significant.

The ancient translations also bear evidence that their translators regarded the Psalms as future-predictive. LXX has rightly been called the 'the first monument of Jewish exegesis,' for, although it contains no commentary as such, it exhibits interpretation predating the earliest commentaries.⁸ Its tendency to eschatological interpretation is widely recognized. Barton comments, 'The thrust of the whole collection is strongly eschatological.'⁹ In the Psalter, this tendency is most readily discernable in its interpretation of headings. The best example is the rendering of the Hebrew term **לִמְנַצַּח**.¹⁰ The simplest understanding of this term is as a piel participle of **נָצַח**, *to shine, excel, be pre-eminent*. Thus it refers to a pre-eminent individual, a leader. The only use of the term in the Bible is at 1 Chr 15:21, where it signifies a leader of cultic worship, a chief musician, or precentor, or *hazzan*. However other meanings might be understood by the term. The *leader* could mean Messiah, especially in the post-exilic period, when **נָצַח** is attested as having the meaning *conquer*.¹¹ Yet another possible meaning might be *For eternity*.¹² Now, although the cultic meaning is the only one attested in the Bible, LXX adopts a phrase that disregards it, but captures something of the two latter meanings: Εἰς τὸ τέλος. This might be taken as meaning *For the ruler*¹³ or *For the end* or *consummation [of the cosmos]*. Thus LXX, when faced with a choice between cultic or eschatological interpretation, adopts the latter, suggesting its translators interpreted Psalms eschatologically.

LXX interprets other psalm headings eschatologically. For instance, **עַל־שְׁשָׁנִים** (MT 45, 69), **עַל־שְׁשָׁנִים עֲדוּת** (MT 80), and **עַל־שׁוֹשַׁן עֲדוּת** (MT 60) become ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων (LXX 44, 68, 79) and τοῖς ἀλλοιωθησομένοις ἔτι (LXX 59). At first glance this seems to be no translation at all. But there is an underlying idea which links *lilies*¹⁴ and *the transformation (of the year)* — the idea of Springtime, when lilies bloom. So this may be an interpretation rather than a departure from the

⁸ S. Daniel, "Bible: Greek: Septuagint," *EJ* IV:851-6; see 855.

⁹ Barton, *Oracles*, 22.

¹⁰ The term occurs in 55 MT psalm headings.

¹¹ *BDB*, 663. See the LXX rendering of Hab 3:19, where **לִמְנַצַּח** becomes τοῦ νικῆσαι, *Concerning conquering*.

¹² That is, taking the term as **לְמִנְצָח**, a substantive of **נָצַח**, which commonly signifies *eternity* in BH (*BDB* 664).

¹³ Possible meanings of the term include *the highest station, the possession of full power, magistracy* [Liddell & Scott, *Lexicon* (abr.), 697].

¹⁴ See J. Feliks, "Flowers," *EJ* 6:1364-8 (esp. 1367) for the probable identification of **שְׁשָׁנִים** with the white lily, *lilium candidum*.

Hebrew. And again there may be eschatological implications. For the idea of the transformation of the earth in spring connotes the image-complex of Passover, new creation, and resurrection. Another example is the rendering of the heading *על-הגתית* (MT 8, 81, 84) as *ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν*, *Concerning the winepresses* (LXX 8, 80, 83). The translators might presumably have chosen other interpretations of this term. The Targum, for instance, refers to *the harp which David brought from Gath*. Instead, the LXX writers choose *winepresses*. The context of these psalm headings, following Pss 7, 80, and 83, which refer to the judgment of the earth, suggests the LXX translators wished to evoke the winepress of God's wrath, as in the eschatological judgment of Isa 63:1-6. Another example is the rendering of *על-עלמות* (MT 46) as *ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων*, *Concerning the things concealed* (LXX 45), the connection possibly being the root *עלם* in its sense of eternity.

Likewise the Targum interprets the Psalms as future-predictive. It generally does this by inserting interpretive comments in the headings, rather than by using terms with eschatological overtones, as does LXX. It regards David as a prophet: 'In the spirit of prophecy, by David' (14:1); 'By David, a prophetic word' (103:1). Certain Davidic psalms are interpreted messianically: 'For on account of the miracle and redemption which you have wrought for your Messiah . . . all the peoples, nations, and tongues shall praise' (18:32); 'King Messiah shall rejoice in your strength, O Lord' (21:2); 'For King Messiah trusts in the Lord' (21:8); 'You will prolong the days of King Messiah . . . Therefore I will glorify your name for ever in the day of the redemption of Israel, and in the day that King Messiah is anointed to rule' (61:7,9). Non-Davidic psalms are likewise interpreted as future-predictive: 'As was said in prophecy by the hand of the sons of Korah . . . Your beauty, King Messiah, is superior to that of the sons of men' (45:1,3); 'By the hand of the sons of Korah, in the spirit of prophecy at the time their father had hidden them; they were delivered and spoke the canticle' (46:1); 'By the hands of Solomon it was said in prophecy, "O God, give King Messiah the precepts of your judgments"' (72:1; cf. also v.17); 'And upon the King Messiah whom you made strong for yourself' (80:16); 'With which they have scoffed at the delay of the footsteps of your Messiah, O Lord' (89:52); 'Prophetic psalm' (98:1).

Likewise the Peshitta interprets Psalms eschatologically, particularly in its renderings of the headings. A few examples will suffice. Ps 22: 'Spoken by David when his pursuers were taunting him, and a prophecy of all the suffering of the Messiah.'¹⁵ Ps

¹⁵ 'mr ldwid kd mmyqyn hww bh rdwpwhy wnbywt' kl ḥš' dmšyh'.

45: 'Prophesied about Messiah our Lord: and about the raising up of the church.'¹⁶ Ps 72: 'A Psalm of David, when he had made Solomon king; and a prophecy concerning the advent of the Messiah and the calling of the Gentiles.'¹⁷ Ps 110: 'Prophesied about the dispensing of the deliverances of the Messiah: and knowledge for us also about the separation of nature.'¹⁸ Some of these interpretations are of Christian origin; others are probably pre-Christian Jewish; it is impossible to say more, as virtually every assertion regarding the authorship and origin of the Peshitta is a matter of controversy, and the widely varying textual traditions show that later scribes felt free to expand and alter as they wished.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the Peshitta adds its testimony to that of LXX and Targum to show that eschatological interpretation of the Psalms was widespread wherever they were known in the ancient world.

II. The Dead Sea Scrolls.

The writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls would probably have regarded the canonical Psalter as a purposefully shaped collection. This is evident not so much from their endorsing the MT-type sequence, although they probably did, but also, conversely, from their practice of producing alternative purposefully shaped psalms collections. This suggests that they, and presumably their contemporaries, did not compile Psalms collections in an *ad hoc* manner. They produced, and expected others to produce, purposefully ordered collections.

There seem to have been several different collections or part-collections of biblical Psalms in existence at Qumran. First, there is 11QPs^a. This, the best known of the Qumran Psalms manuscripts, is dated on palaeographic and archaeological grounds to the second half of the first century CE.²⁰ It contains a number of biblical psalms in a different sequence from MT, and also contains non-biblical material. Its contents are as follows.

¹⁶ *mtnb' 'l mšyḥ' mrn : w'l qwym' d'dt'.*

¹⁷ Cited by Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 416.

¹⁸ *mtnb' 'l mḏbrnwth dprwqn mšyḥ' : wmwḏ' ln 'p 'l pwršn' dkyn'.*

¹⁹ For an outline of the various positions regarding the origin and development of the Peshitta see the anonymous article, "Bible: Syriac: Peshitta and other Versions," *EJ* 4:858-60.

²⁰ Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 6-10; Flint, "Psalms Scrolls," 33.

Psalm 101 → 102 → 103; 118 → 104 → 147 → 105 → 146 → 148 (+ 120) + 121 → 122 → 123 → 124 → 125 → 126 → 127 → 128 → 129 → 130 → 131 → 132 → 119 → 135 → 136 → Catena → 145; 154 + Plea for Deliverance → 139 → 137 → 138 → Sirach 51:13-30 → Apostrophe to Zion → Psalm 93 → 141 → 133 → 144 → 155 → 142 → 143 → 149 → 150 → Hymn to the Creator → David's Last Words (2 Sam 23:[1]-7) → David's Compositions → Psalm 140 → 134 → 151A, B → blank column [end of scroll].²¹

J. van der Ploeg has demonstrated that 11QPs^b appears to show the same sequence, as can be seen from its containing the 'Plea for Deliverance' and the sequence Pss 141 → 133 → 144.²² Flint suggests the same may be true of 4QPs^c.²³ Thus several copies of this arrangement may have existed at Qumran.

Second, the MT-type arrangement was almost certainly known at Qumran. According to Skehan, some 17 fragments agree with MT, and demonstrate the sectarians' familiarity with it.²⁴ Haran agrees, commenting, 'in the Qumran scrolls, the chapters of Psalms generally follow the order of the Masoretic Text and LXX,' and 'all these scrolls are dependent on the canonical book of Psalms.'²⁵ Flint, on the other hand, states that there is no manuscript from Qumran 'whose arrangement *unambiguously* supports the Received Psalter against the 11QPs^a arrangement.'²⁶ This position derives from his adopting Sanders' hypothesis that the missing first two-thirds of 11QPs^a were similar to MT, as a result of which he does not recognize the many manuscripts that agree with the first two-thirds of MT, but do not *disagree* with 11QPs^a, as they feature psalms, in particular Pss 1 to 100, absent from 11QPs^a. If Sanders' theory is accepted, Flint would be correct in saying that there is no unambiguous evidence for the MT at Qumran. But the theory is speculative, and even if it were not, it would still be unwise to conclude that the MT arrangement was not recognized at Qumran. For it was the chosen version for synagogue worship as far afield as Alexandria some two hundred and fifty years before 11QPs^a. It was also known at nearby Masada at about the time when 11QPs^a was written: MasPs^b features Ps 150:1-6 followed by a blank column, an arrangement known only in MT and disagreeing with 11QPs^a.

²¹ From Flint, "Psalms Scrolls," 52. The sigla are Flint's. An arrow indicates that a passage is continuous with the one listed before it. The plus sign indicates that a passage follows the one listed before it, even though some of the relevant text is no longer extant.

²² Van der Ploeg, "Fragments d'un manuscrit des Psaumes," 408-12.

²³ Flint, "Psalms Scrolls," 40, 43, 47.

²⁴ "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," 165-69, esp. 167.

²⁵ Haran, "11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms," 193, 194.

²⁶ Flint, "Psalms Scroll," 41; Flint's italics.

Third, 4QPs^a and 4QPs^q feature Ps 31 followed by Ps 33. If this is not an early section of 11QPs^a, and there is no evidence that it is, then it would appear to be remains of another non-MT psalms collection which existed in more than one copy at Qumran. Fourth, Flint suggests 4QPs^f is part of yet another psalms collection divergent from both MT and 11QPs^a.²⁷ It contains Pss 107-109 followed by 'Apostrophe to Zion' and two otherwise unknown lyrics, 'Eschatological Hymn' and 'Apostrophe to Judah.' Fifth, van der Ploeg has plausibly suggested that 11QPsAp^a is yet another purposefully designed collection, possibly intended for exorcism and to be identified with the 'psalms for making music over the stricken' mentioned in 11QPs^a col. xxvii.²⁸ Finally, other minor fragments contain sequences which disagree with all the above. 4QPs^d contains Pss 106(?) → 147 → 104. 4QPs^k contains Pss 135:6-16 and 99:1-5. 4QPsⁿ contains Ps 135:6-12 followed by Ps 136:22. All this suggests that a number of psalm arrangements were in circulation at Qumran. Moreover, some of the non-MT arrangements appear to have been arranged for specific purposes, else there were little reason for their existing in several copies. This suggests that psalters were not arbitrarily arranged in Second Temple times, and supports the likelihood of the MT-type Psalter having been purposefully arranged by its own redactors.

The Qumran interpreters endorse the literary structural markers, the headings and doxologies, of the MT. 11QPs^a has identical headings to MT in eleven of its eighteen psalms with legible headings.²⁹ Three others lack minor parts of the heading found in MT.³⁰ Four more show variants without any omission.³¹ Only one, Ps 144 without לְדָוִד ascription, lacks any indication of the MT heading. In general, then, the headings of 11QPs^a are closer to MT than even those of LXX. Given the general wide divergence of 11QPs^a from MT, the similarity is striking. The Qumran interpreters regarded the heading as an intrinsic part of a psalm, worthy of commentary like the body of the lyric, as in the *peshet* 4Q171.

²⁷ Flint, "Psalms Scrolls," 45-7.

²⁸ "Un petit rouleau." This suggestion has been widely received. See, eg., Puech, "Les deux derniers psaumes . . . d'exorcisme."

²⁹ The headings are identical to MT in Pss 121, 122, 126, 127 (partially legible), 129 (partially legible), 130, 133, 137 (ie., no heading like MT), 138, 140, and 143.

³⁰ Pss 148 and 150 lack the הַלְלוּ־יְהוָה heading of MT. The significance of this is lessened by the preceding psalms, 146 and 149 respectively, which end with הַלְלוּ־יְהוָה as in MT. This may be due to scribal error or to a notion that only one occurrence of the phrase was sufficient, as in LXX, which never has more than one occurrence of the phrase between two consecutive psalms.

³¹ Ps 93 is preceded by הַלְלוּ־יְהוָה. Ps 123 bears the addition לְדָוִיד and, like MT Ps 121, has לְמַעַן־לֵאמֹר instead of הַמַּעַלֹת. Ps 145 reads תִּפְלֶה לְדָוִיד instead of תִּהְיֶה לְדָוִיד. The three opening phrases of Ps 135, including the הַלְלוּ־יְהוָה heading, are in retrograde order from that of MT.

For the leader: according to [lil]ies. [Of the sons of Korah. Maskil. A love song. Th]ey are the seven divisions of the penitents of Is[rael . . .]³²

The idea that the four doxologies divide the Psalter into five 'books' may also have been known at Qumran, as can be seen from the fragment 1Q30.2-6:

] משיח הקדוש
] ב[שלישית את כול
] ס[פרים חומשים
] ויותר על ארבעה
] ופשריהם לפי³³

The term חומש(ים), designating fivefold divisions, is commonly used in a later period, of the five books of the Pentateuch, Psalms, or *Megillot*.³⁴ The editors suggest that in this case the reference is to the Psalms, although they give no reason for the suggestion.³⁵ It may be due to the fact that the Psalms appear to have been more popular at Qumran than any other biblical book.³⁶ Or it may be because the fragment's reference to *Messiah* makes most sense in relation to the Psalms, which, as shall be seen below, were interpreted messianically at Qumran.

The authors of the Qumran literature seem to have regarded the Psalms as future-predictive. The prose insert in 11QPs^a describes all David's psalms, presumably including the immediately preceding psalm from 2 Sam 23:1-7, as composed by means of a divine prophetic endowment.

And David ben Jesse was wise . . . and he wrote 3,600 psalms . . . and all the songs that he composed were 446, and songs for making music over the stricken, four. And the total was 4,050. All these he composed through prophecy which was given him before the Most High.³⁷

The Qumran scribes juxtapose biblical psalms with eschatological texts. The 'Apostrophe to Zion', in 11QPs^a and 4QPs^f, claims itself to be prophetic (v.17), refers to the eschatological glory of Zion, and foretells the coming of its longed-for

³² . . . למנצח על [שוש]נים [לבני קרח משכיל שיר ידירת . . . ה]מה שבע מחלקות שבי יש[ראל] . . . (DJD V:45).

³³ 'Holy [Me]ssiah . . . [in] third all the . . . [. . . b]ooks of the Pentateuch/Psalter . . . and the rest on/at four . . . and their interpretations according to . . . ' (DJD I:32).

³⁴ See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, I:436. חומשים designates the Pentateuch at Sot 36b; Hag 14a; yMeg 3.1 (74a top). It designates the Psalter at Kid 33a (בספר תהלים) and MidTeh 1.2 (cited later in this chapter). At yMeg 2.4 (72a bottom) it refers to the five *megillot*.

³⁵ 'Si la lecture ספרים est exacte il s'agirait des livres חומשים, c.-à-d. du Pentateuque ou plutôt du Psautier' [DJD I:133].

³⁶ Sanders comments, 'There were undoubtedly more copies of Psalms in the Qumran library than of any other biblical writings' [*Psalms Scroll*, 9].

³⁷ 11QPs^a, col. 27, lines 1-11. The text is at Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 136.

deliverance (v.2). 4QPs^f also contains 'Eschatological Hymn' and 'Apostrophe to Judah.' The former speaks of Yhwh's coming in judgment, the destruction of the wicked, and the end-time fertility of the earth. The latter speaks of the rejoicing of Judah after the eschatological destruction of her enemies. Other texts interpret biblical psalms eschatologically. 11QMelch refers Ps 82 to the superhero Melchizedek and the battle with Belial and his hosts.³⁸ 4Q174.1 (Florilegium) interprets Ps 2 as applying to the kings of the nations who shall rage against Israel in the last days.³⁹ 4Q171 interprets Pss 37 and 45 eschatologically, as does 4Q173 for Ps 128.⁴⁰

III. The New Testament.

The NT seems to regard the MT-type Psalter as definitive. The reference in Acts 1:20 to ὁ βιβλος ψαλμῶν suggests the writer of Acts, in the first century, regarded one particular collection as definitive, as 'the Book of Psalms.' It suggests also that he regarded this collection as a single book, and his quoting it to settle theological dispute suggests he regarded it as a book of scripture. Several things suggest that this βιβλος ψαλμῶν featured the MT-type arrangement of lyrics. First, the known prominence of that arrangement, as demonstrated in its being selected as the basis for all the translations, would make it likely. Second, the majority of NT quotes from Psalms come verbatim from LXX, which, of course, has the MT-type sequence. Third, all NT citations from 'psalms' are found in the MT-type Psalter; the term is not used of non-biblical lyrics, such as those in 11QPs^a. Fourth, Acts 13:33 cites from Ps 2 as 'τῷ ψαλμῷ . . . τῷ δευτέρῳ.' The only known arrangement of psalms which has this particular second psalm is the standard Psalter. Fifth, no other arrangement of Psalms has passed into Christian tradition. This suggests that for the writer of Acts, and probably for the early Christian community at large, the collection regarded as 'the Book of Psalms' was an MT-type Psalter.

The NT writers also regarded the Psalms as future-predictive. David is described as a prophet, through whom the Holy Spirit spoke (Mt 22:43ff; Mk 12:36; Acts 2:30; 4:25). Those psalms ascribed to him are reckoned to foretell messianic events after their date of composition (Mt 22:43ff; Acts 2:25,31; 4:11). For this reason the NT cites them more than seventy times, more than it cites any other book, to endorse Christian messianic claims. A few examples may be given from the gospels alone. Ps

³⁸ The text is in Woude, "Melchizedek"; Jonge & Woude, "11Q Melchizedek"; Milik, "Milki-sedeq". There is an English translation in 300-1.

³⁹ The text is in DJD V:53-7. There is an English translation in Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 293-4.

⁴⁰ The text is in DJD V:42-53. There is an English translation in Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 290-92.

91:11-12 is taken as referring to Messiah's deliverance from evil (Mt 4:6; Lk 4:11). Ps 118:22,23 is regarded as foretelling his rejection by the leaders of Israel (Mt 21:42; Mk 12:10; Lk 20:17), while 118:25,26 is associated with his entry to Jerusalem (Mt 21:9; 23:39; Mk 11:9; Lk 13:35; 19:38; Jn 12:13). Ps 22:1,18 is held to foretell his suffering (Mt 27:35 [some mss]; 27:46; Mk 15:34; Jn 19:24). Ps 110 is referred to him as well, presumably in his role as conquering king (Mt 22:41-46; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42-43).

Finally, several considerations suggest the NT's Psalms hermeneutic was little different from that of their contemporaries in first century Israel. (1) There are distinct similarities between the NT and Qumran. The NT view that David's utterances are predictive is not recognisably different from that of the prose insert describing David's compositions in 11QPs^a, col. 27, cited above. Similarly the NT's eschatological interpretation of Psalms is similar to that of 11QM^{elch}. Moreover, the NT shows the same general fascination with Psalms as do the Qumran writers. As the NT cites Psalms more than any other OT book, so, at Qumran, manuscripts of the biblical Psalms outnumber those of any other book. (2) The NT itself represents other Jewish parties sharing its hermeneutic. At Mt 22:41-46, Mk 12:36, Lk 20:42-43 the Pharisees are depicted as tacitly accepting the Davidic authorship of Pss 110, even though Davidic authorship is the very point on which the Christian *apologia* depends. Diaspora Hebrews in Jerusalem, and others at Pisidian Antioch, are depicted as doing exactly the same thing in regard to Pss 16 and 110 (Acts 2:25,29,34; 13:33-36). Another passage shows the early Hebrew Christian community citing Ps 118 as a messianic proof-text in dialogue with the Sanhedrin (Acts 4:10). That the NT community did in fact use the Psalms in just this way is confirmed by those NT books which are written to convince Jewish readers of Christian messianic claims. The epistle to the Hebrews, in particular, repeatedly cites from the Psalms. So too does John's Gospel, which recent commentators have described as a *Missionsschrift* to Israel.⁴¹ And even if the intended readership of all NT books were exclusively Christian, these books must still represent the actual apologetic methods of the early church. For what would their writers gain by instructing their readership in apologetics not practiced by the Christian community? So if, then, the NT Hebrews employed Psalms as messianic proof-texts, it follows that their opponents must have acknowledged the messianic referent of these same texts. (3) Rabbinic traditions further confirm that the NT Psalms hermeneutic was essentially the same as that of

⁴¹ Bornhäuser, *Johannesevangelium: eine Missionsschrift für Israel*; Robinson, "Destination, 117-131; Brooke, "Christ and the Law," 102-112; Carson, "Purpose," 639-651.

other first century Israelites. For the rabbinic movement was the chief heir of the hermeneutic traditions of the priests, Pharisees, and Sadducees after 70 CE. These traditions, as we shall see below, interpret messianically many of the same psalms as the NT, including Pss 22, 110, and 118.

IV. Rabbinic Literature.

Jewish Psalms manuscripts and incunabulae endorse the definitiveness of the MT-type arrangement by their conformity to it. They have the same psalms as MT in the same order, apart from accidental omissions due to homoeoteleuton.⁴² However the number of chapters varies as a result of joining or dividing psalms. A Psalter of 147 chapters is mentioned in Amoraic times (yShab 16:1, 15c; cf. 16:11; MidTeh to 22:4) and exists in manuscripts⁴³ and in the first edition of the *Yalkut Shimoni*.⁴⁴ The Leningrad Codex B and the Brescia (1494) and Naples (1491-94) Bibles are all divided into 149 psalms, an arrangement known also to Mishael b. Uzziel and Shmuel ha-Nagid, and present in some Hebrew manuscripts.⁴⁵ Other Psalters feature divisions of 148, 151, 159, and even 170 psalms.⁴⁶ Commonly joined together are MT Pss 1-2, 9-10, 42-3, 53-4, 70-1, 93-4, 104-5, 114-15, 116-17, 117-118:1-4.⁴⁷ Pss 115, 116, 118, and 119 are sometimes divided.⁴⁸ However, in every case, the variation is not in the content of these Psalters, but only in the division and combination of psalm units. They uniformly display the MT sequence.

There is evidence that the rabbis regarded the Psalter's sequence of lyrics as purposeful. A talmudic *baraita* (Ber 10a) establishes the validity of contextual interpretation of psalms and comments on the significance of the juxtaposition of Pss 2 and 3.

A certain *min* said to R. Abbahu: It is written, *A Psalm of David when he fled from Absalom his son* (Ps 3:1). And it is also written, *A mikhtam of David when he fled from Saul in the cave* (Ps 57:1). Which event happened first? Did not the event of Saul happen first? Then let him write it first? He replied to him: For you who do not derive interpretations from juxtaposition, there is a difficulty, but for us who do derive interpretations from juxtaposition there is no difficulty. For R. Yohanan said: How do

⁴² For a discussion of homoeoteleuton in Hebrew Psalter manuscripts see Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 171-182.

⁴³ Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 18, 777.

⁴⁴ Salonica, 1521-26; cf. also Jacob b. Asher, *Ba'al ha-Turim*, Gen 47:28.

⁴⁵ Sarna, "Psalms, Book of," (*EJ* 13:1303-34) 1306.

⁴⁶ Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 536-7, 584, 725; Sarna, "Psalms, Book of," (*EJ* 13:1303-34) 1306.

⁴⁷ Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 18, 536, 725, 777, 853, 873. At tPes 117a it is said, in reference to Ps 117, that a two-versed psalm is preposterous.

⁴⁸ Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition*, 536-7, 584, 725-6.

we know from the Torah that juxtaposition counts? Because it says, *They are joined for ever and ever, they are done in truth and uprightness* (Ps 111:8). Why is the chapter of Absalom juxtaposed to the chapter of Gog and Magog? So that if one should say to you, 'Is it possible that a slave should rebel against his master?', you can reply to him, 'Is it possible that a son should rebel against his father? Yet this happened, and so this too [will happen].'

MidTeh 3.2 expresses the same view of the purposeful arrangement of the Psalms with a similar teaching about Ps 2 and 3.⁴⁹ Thereafter follows the tale of how R. Joshua ben Levi sought to rearrange the Psalms, when a *bat kol* commanded, 'Arouse not the slumberer!' This appears to teach that the present order of Psalms is to be left alone, because it is significant. Similarly MidTeh 111.1 refers back to Ps 110 for an understanding of the context of Ps 111. Kimhi also remarks on the arrangement of Pss 1, 2, and 3, noting that while the arrangement of Psalms cannot be explained according to historical order, yet they were thus arranged by David. Similarly, he notes that Ps 53 is placed as it is to show that David was threatened by Doeg (52:1) and the Ziphites (54:1), but God made his kingdom stand firm.⁵⁰

Psalm headings and subscripts are important for interpretation to rabbinic commentators. A few examples illustrate this. The Talmud maintains that **מזמור לרוד** means the *shekhinah* rested on David and then he uttered a song, while **לרוד מזמור** means he uttered that song and then the *shekhinah* rested upon him (Pes 117a). Midrash Tehillim discusses how the *sons of Korah* psalms relate to the figures of Num 26:10, and states that the term **ששנים** (Ps 45:1) refers to the sons of Korah, who were lilies gathered from among thorns that they might not be consumed. MidTeh 84, like LXX, takes **על-הגתית** as *Concerning the Winepresses*, and relates it to the crushing of the eschatological foe. The medieval rabbis also comment at length on headings. Ibn Ezra discusses who Ethan the Ezrahi of Ps 89 might be.⁵¹ Rashi supposes the Korah psalms to have been composed by the sons of the Korah of the desert rebellion, a supposition central to his interpretation of the psalm.⁵² Kimhi thinks likewise, and adds that they then came into David's possession and 'David collected these psalms by the Holy Spirit and gave them to the sons of the sons of Korah, who were singers in his time, to sing them.'⁵³

⁴⁹ 'R. Jacob said in the name of R. Aha: Why is the psalm on Gog and Magog (Ps 2) placed next to the psalm on Absalom (Ps 3)? To tell you that a wicked son works greater cruelty upon his father than will the wars of Gog and Magog.'

⁵⁰ Comm. on Ps 53.

⁵¹ Comm. on Ps 89:1.

⁵² Rashi, Commentary on Ps 42.

⁵³ **כי דוד חבר אלה המזמורים ברוח הקדש ונתנם לבני בני קרח המשוררים הנמצאים בזמנו לשורר אותם** [Commentary on Ps 42].

The doxological subscripts were understood as section divisions in talmudic times. The Bavli refers explicitly to the חומשים of the Book of Psalms (Kid 33a). This dates from about 200 CE, if its attribution to the time of R. Hiyya and the young R. Simeon b. Judah ha-Nasi is correct. The fivefold book division is also mentioned in MidTeh 1.2, where it is compared with the five books of the Pentateuch: 'As Moses gave five books of *Torah* to Israel, so David gave five books of psalms to Israel: *Blessed is the man* (Ps 1), *Blessed is the maskil* (cf. Ps 42:1), *A Psalm of Asaph* (Ps 73), *A Prayer of Moses* (Ps 90), and *Let the Redeemed of the Lord say* (Ps 106).'⁵⁴ No date is given for this saying, but its marked similarity to Hippolytus' statement below suggests the existence of this idea early in the first millennium.

Early Jewish and rabbinic writers commonly regard the Psalms as future-predictive. The daily *Amidah*, dating from the second temple period,⁵⁵ views David as an eschatological prophet. Referring probably to 1 Sam 23:1-7, it states: 'Fulfil in our time the words of your servant David, so that men are again ruled in justice and in the fear of God. Let light dawn in the world in our days, for we wait and work for your salvation.'⁵⁶ Josephus regards David as a prophet: καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου.⁵⁷ Aquila renders למנצח as τῷ νικοποιῷ, *For the conqueror*, a phrase which appears to have messianic overtones. The Talmud frequently cites Psalms as referring to messianic and eschatological events. For instance, Ps 72:17: 'The School of R. Yannai said: His name is Yinnon, for it is written, *His name shall endure for ever: before the sun was, his name is Yinnon*' (San 98b). Numerous other passages might be cited.⁵⁸ The Midrash regards Psalms' writers, David and the sons of Korah, as prophets (MidTeh 2.2; 44.1; 45.4), and interprets many psalms eschatologically. For instance, on Ps 2:2: 'In the time to come, Gog and Magog will set themselves against the Lord and his Messiah, only to fall down. David, foreseeing this said: "*Why do the nations rage?*"' (MidTeh 2.2). It understands למנצח messianically: 'In the days of the Messiah, however, there will be

⁵⁴ משה נתן חמשה חומשי תורה לישראל ודוד נתן חמשה ספרים שבתהלים לישראל אשרי השם האיש ואשרי משכיל מזמור לאסף תפלה למשה יאמרו גאולי השם (MidTeh 1.2).

⁵⁵ See J. Heinemann, "Amidah," *EJ* 2:838-45. He notes, 'It is almost certain that by the end of the Temple period the eighteen benedictions of the weekday *Amidah* had become the general custom' [840]. It is referred to in the Mishnah at Ber 4:1-5:7 and Ta'an 2:2.

⁵⁶ *Forms of Prayer*, 236-7.

⁵⁷ 'And he began to prophesy when the divine spirit removed [from Saul] to dwell upon him' (*Ant* 6.166).

⁵⁸ See also Ber 7b (Ps 2 of Gog); Ber 10a (Ps 2 of Messiah); Pes 118b (Ps 68 of Messiah); Meg 18a (Ps 50:23 of Messiah); 'Arak 13b (Pss 12, 92 of Messiah); San 97a (Ps 89:52 of Messiah); 99a (Ps 72:5 of Messiah).

eight strings to the psalter, for it is said: *For the leader. Upon the Eighth*' (Ps 12.1; MidTeh 81.3). It interprets other psalms of Messiah (2.3,4,9,10; 16.4; 21.2,4; 60.3; 72.3-6; 87.6), the eschatological conflict (2.2,4; 11.5; 31.5), and God's *malkut* (2.4). Other *midrashim* interpret similarly.⁵⁹ Those psalms commonly interpreted messianically or eschatologically in the NT, receive similar treatment in the *midrashim*: Ps 22 (PR 36.2; 37.1); Ps 110 (OtM 8.4); Ps 118 (PdRK 27.5; cf. also 22.2).

The medieval rabbis took a similar line. Kimhi establishes theoretical grounds for the prophetic nature of the Psalter. He discusses the distinction between the higher order of prophecy, that of the *nevi'im*, and utterance in the Holy Spirit, as manifested in the *ketuvim*. Both foretell the future, but have different characteristics. Utterance in the Holy Spirit is as follows.

And he [the human author] speaks what is spoken after the manner of men, except that a higher spirit moves him and reveals the words upon his tongue, words of praise and thanksgiving to his God, or words of wisdom and instruction. He also speaks concerning the future, with the divine assistance in addition to the power of the speaker – with all the powers of those who speak. And in this power the Book of Psalms was uttered.⁶⁰

In accord with this Kimhi interprets the majority of Psalms as speaking prophetically of the future. For instance, Pss 2, 45, 53, 72, and 89 refer to Messiah, Pss 46 and 53 to the battle of Gog and Magog, Ps 47 of the post-conflict messianic reign, Ps 67 of the eschatological fertility of the latterday rain; the Songs of Ascents are so-named because they will be sung at the final ingathering of Israel, and the true meaning (הנכבון) of Ps 22 is that *ayyelet ha-shahar* refers to Israel in their present exile in which they cry out, *My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?*⁶¹ Ibn Ezra seems more aware than Kimhi of historical context. Yet he too interprets Psalms prophetically, sometimes giving both historical and eschatological interpretation together. Ps 45: 'And this psalm is spoken about David or about the Messiah his son, may his name prosper.' Ps 72: 'A prophecy of David or one of the [temple] singers about Solomon or about Messiah.' Rashi tends to interpret historically rather than prophetically. However he acknowledges that messianic interpretation is the

⁵⁹ See, for instance, the messianic interpretations at EcclR 1.9.1 (Ps 72), GenR 97 (Ps 89); SongR 2.13.4 (Ps 89); PdRK 5.10 (Ps 89).

⁶⁰ Commentary on the Psalms, Introduction to Book I.

⁶¹ For Ps 89, see the comment on Ps 53; for the Songs of Ascents, see the comment on Ps 120; for the rest, see the comments on the respective psalms.

established tradition among earlier commentators, and states that his own reason for avoiding it is to discountenance Christian interpreters.⁶²

V. Patristic to Reformation Christian Literature.

The NT suggests the Christian community inherited their hermeneutic from Israel, through the early Israelite church and its leaders. It is therefore unsurprising that patristic writers share by and large the same hermeneutical principles as the rabbis with regard to the Psalter.

Early Christian Psalters endorse the MT arrangement. The enumeration of some, like the Vulgate, follows LXX. Others, like Jerome's *Psalterium juxta hebræos*, have the same enumeration as MT. But all of them evince the standard MT-type sequence. Explicit statements regarding the significance of the Psalter's arrangement are rarer in Christian than rabbinic literature, probably as a result of the NT's silence on the subject. (R. Abbahu's view, cited above, that *minim* do not derive interpretations from juxtaposition, may have been correct.) However a few comments on the subject are found. Origen observes that the order of the Psalms cannot be explained chronologically.⁶³ He notes Jewish traditions regarding a narrative sequence in the Songs of Ascents, and reckoning the untitled psalms following Ps 90 to share its **למשה** heading.⁶⁴ Augustine believes the sequence of the Psalms is highly significant, but confesses that he does not understand it: '... ordo psalmorum, qui mihi magni sacramenti videtur continere secretum, nondum mihi fuerit revelatus.'⁶⁵ However he recognizes a progression to perfection in the whole arrangement.

Non enim frustra mihi videtur quinquagesimus esse de paenitentia, centesimus de misericordia et iudicio, centesimus quinquagesimus de laude Dei in sanctis eius. Sic enim ad aeternam beatamque tendimus vitam, primitus peccata nostra damnando, deinde bene vivendo, ut post condemnatam vitam malam gestamque bonam, mereamur aeternam.⁶⁶

⁶² רבותינו פתרוהו על מלך המשיח ונכון הדבר לפותרו עוד על דוד עצמו לתשובת המאנים [Comm. on Ps 21:2].

⁶³ Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*. Lomm. xi. 370-71.

⁶⁴ Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*. Lomm xi. 352-54; xiii. 107. The commentary on the Moses Psalms is cited in chapter 9, and the one on the Songs of Ascents in chapter 4.

⁶⁵ '... the sequence of the Psalms, which seems to me to contain the secret of a mighty mystery, has not yet been revealed to me' [*Enarrationes*, on Ps 150 §1].

⁶⁶ 'For it seems to me not without significance, that the fiftieth is of penitence, the hundredth of mercy and judgment, the hundred and fiftieth of the praise of God in his saints. For thus do we advance to an everlasting life of happiness, first by condemning our own sins, then by living aright, that having condemned our ill life, and lived a good life, we may attain to everlasting life' [*Enarrationes*, on Ps 150 §3].

In the same place he discusses, as does Origen elsewhere,⁶⁷ the symbolism of the different Psalms according to their number in the LXX sequence. However one may feel about such a mode of interpretation, it indicates high regard for the received sequence of Psalms. Gregory of Nyssa maintains the five books exhibit an upward progression to moral perfection: ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλότερον τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπερτιθεῖς, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀφίκηται τῶν ἀγαθῶν.⁶⁸

Patristic writers consider headings and subscripts integral parts of the Psalter. Hippolytus and Origen comment at length on the titles and authors of the Psalms.⁶⁹ Gregory of Nyssa has two lengthy essays on Psalms' headings, Εἰς τὰς Ἐπίγραφας τῶν ψαλμῶν, in which he suggests they play an important part in the overall moral and mystical purpose of the Psalter.⁷⁰ Athanasius too, according to Jerome, wrote a work, now lost, *De psalmorum titulis*.⁷¹ Augustine regards the headings as containing profound truth: 'Solet scriptura Psalmorum mysteria in titulis ponere et frontem Psalmi sublimitate sacramenti decorare,' and, 'In titulum . . . congesta mysteria.'⁷² Apparently the only early Christian writer who did not accept the traditions in the headings was Theodore of Mopsuestia, who asserted that David wrote all the Psalms, and that those which describe later events were written prophetically by him.⁷³

Hippolytus gives the earliest written statement of the idea, later recorded in Midrash Tehillim, that the doxological subscripts were intended to divide the Psalter into five books. He states, Καὶ τοῦτο δέ σε μὴ παρέλθοι, . . . ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον εἰς πέντε διεῖλον βιβλία οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ὥστε εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸ ἄλλον πεντάτευχον,⁷⁴ and cites the psalms contained in each book according to the LXX numbering.⁷⁵ If this

⁶⁷ Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, Lomm. xi. 370-371.

⁶⁸ 'It always tends toward the utmost height of the soul, until it comes to the pinnacle of good' [*In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, I.ix.].

⁶⁹ So Quasten, *Patrology*, II:175. Parts of the introduction to Hippolytus' commentary are in Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, II:418-27. For Origen, see *CPG*, I, 149ff.

⁷⁰ Quasten, *Patrology*, III:265.

⁷¹ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 87. This Athanasian work is not the same as *De titulis psalmorum*, with which it is sometimes confused, which is thought to be by Hesychius of Jerusalem [Quasten, *Patrology*, III:38].

⁷² 'The scriptures of the Psalms usually place mysteries in the title and adorn the beginning of the psalm with the sublimity of a sacrament,' [*Enarrationes*, on Ps 58]; 'In the title . . . mysteries are heaped together,' [*Enarrationes*, on Ps 80].

⁷³ Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:404-5; Ackroyd and Evans, *History*, 497-501.

⁷⁴ Let it not escape your notice, . . . that the Hebrews divided the Psalter also into five books, so that it too might be another Pentateuch.

⁷⁵ The text can be found at Lagarde, *Hippolytus Romanus*, 193; PG X:720B. Migne regards it as spurious, but it is not for that reason to be rejected. The Syriac form of Hippolytus' introduction to the Psalms [Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 86] is regarded as genuine [Quasten, *Patrology*, II:175; Smith, *The*

idea was known to a Roman bishop as a Hebrew idea in the late second or early third century, then it probably existed in Israel some time before. Moreover its similarity to MidTeh 1.2, both in comparing Psalms and Pentateuch and in listing the Psalms in each book, confirms the antiquity of the rabbinic tradition. Jerome also knew of the five-book division: 'Tertius ordo Hagiographa possidet. Et primus liber incipit a Job. Secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus et uno Psalmorum volumine comprehendunt.'⁷⁶ It is mentioned also by Augustine and other early Christian writers.⁷⁷

The view that the Psalter was future-predictive was widely held in the early church. However, the fathers often interpret the Psalms as referring to the life of Jesus, rather than to the future redemption of the earth, for they regarded the messianic age as in some sense already come. Yet the basic hermeneutical supposition in each case was the same: the Psalter foretells messianic times. Unfortunately the commentaries which might best have preserved early Jewish exegesis, those of the Hebraists Origen and Jerome, are largely lost. But commentaries by other Christian writers are plentiful. Theodotion resembles Aquila in rendering לַמְנִצָּח messianically: εἰς τὸ νίκος, *For the victory*. Hippolytus regards David as an eschatological prophet: καὶ Δαβὶδ προμηνύων τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ κυρίου φησὶν ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἕξοδος αὐτοῦ, etc. (LXX Ps 18:7).⁷⁸ Justin cites Pss 2, 3, 19, 22, 24, 68, 72, and 110 as messianic proof-texts.⁷⁹ Augustine finds messianic prophecy throughout the Psalter: Ps 1: '... de Domino nostro Iesu Christo . . . accipiendum est';⁸⁰ Ps 2: 'Dicitur hoc enim de persecutoribus Domini, qui et in Actibus Apostolorum commemorantur';⁸¹ Ps 3: 'Hunc psalmum ex persona Christi accipiendum persuadet quod dictum est: Ego dormiui, et somnum cepi, et exsurrexi,

OT in the Jewish Church, 194n]. It speaks of the Psalter's being divided into five parts or sections (*menawâthê*). Moreover, Eusebius of Caesarea (263-c. 340) and Epiphanius of Salamis (315-403) attribute such a statement to Hippolytus, using language similar to the above passage [Achelis, *Hippolyt's Schriften*, 131, 143; cf. Eusebius (*PG* XXIII:66C); Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus*, c.5 (*PG* XLIII:244D-245A)]. Epiphanius is generally regarded as an important source for the reconstruction of Hippolytus' Works [Quasten, *Patrology*, III:384-5]. There is therefore good ground to believe that the Greek reflects an authentic statement of Hippolytus.

⁷⁶ *Prologus Galeatus*.

⁷⁷ Augustine, *Enarrationes*, Ps 150 § 2. Kirkpatrick notes, 'The division is referred to by most of the Fathers' [*Psalms*, xviii].

⁷⁸ 'And David foretold the Judgment and the appearing of the Lord, saying, *From the summit of heaven is his going out*,' etc. [Lagarde, *Hippolytus Romanus*, 34].

⁷⁹ *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 19, 32-34, 69, 88, 97-105, 121-2, 127.

⁸⁰ 'This is to be understood of our Lord Jesus Christ' [*Enarrationes* on Ps 1 §1].

⁸¹ 'This is spoken of our Lord's persecutors, of whom mention is made also in the Acts of the Apostles' [*Enarrationes* on Ps 2 §1].

quoniam Dominus suscipiet me';⁸² and so on. Athanasius deals with the messianic character of the Psalms in his Psalms commentary and in his *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum*.⁸³ Jerome, like Theodotion, makes no attempt to interpret לִמְנִצָּח cultically. He renders it, 'Victori', *For the conqueror*.⁸⁴ Tertullian regards the immediate sense [praesentis rei sensum] of Ps 1 as referring to Joseph of Arimathea, and its 'assembly of the wicked' to the Sanhedrin.⁸⁵ Even the 'historical-critical' Theodore of Mopsuestia held to the prophetic nature of the Psalter, albeit with a heterodox hermeneutic. He regarded David as a prophet who wrote all the Psalms, but generally limited his prophetic horizon to the Maccabean period. Yet he allows that four psalms, LXX Pss 2, 8, 44 (MT 45), and 109 (MT 110), see beyond this period and were written prophetically in the character of Christ.⁸⁶ Commentaries by Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others also survive, all of whom regard Psalms as prophetic. Similar views prevailed for centuries to come. Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers in the late sixth century, asserts David's prophetic foreknowledge.

*Impleta sunt quae concinit
David fideli carmine,
Dicendo in nationibus
Regnavit a ligno Deus.*⁸⁷

Likewise, the 13th century author of *Dies irae* regarded David as a prophet like the highly eschatological Sybils.⁸⁸

⁸² 'The words, *I slept, and took rest, and rose for the Lord will wake me up*, lead us to believe that this psalm is to be understood as in the Person of Christ' [*Enarrationes* on Ps 3 §1].

⁸³ Quasten, *Patrology*, III:37-38.

⁸⁴ Jerome's varying approaches to this word are particularly interesting. In his Gallican Psalter (Vulgate), based largely on LXX [Berardino and Quasten, *Patrology*, IV:223-5], he renders it, 'In finem', *For the end*. This corresponds to the foremost meaning of LXX's Εἰς τὸ τέλος. However, in his later Hebrew Psalter, written after he acquired greater familiarity with the Hebrew text and its traditions [Berardino and Quasten, *Patrology*, IV:224-6], he gives instead, 'Victori'. Thus, of the two possible eschatological meanings, he regards the more messianic one as correct.

⁸⁵ *De Spectaculis*, 3 [Tertullian, *Writings*, I:11; *Opera*, I:5].

⁸⁶ Quasten, *Patrology*, III:404-5; Ackroyd and Evans, *History*, 497-501. The Syriac text of his headings is given in Baethgen, 'Der Psalmcommentar,' 67ff.

⁸⁷ From 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' by Venantius Fortunatus (d. 609). J. M. Neale translates it as, 'Fulfilled is now what David told, In true prophetic song of old; Among the nations, Lo, says he, Our God is reigning from the tree' ('The Royal Banners Forward Go'). The reference to God reigning from the tree is from the Old Latin Version of Ps 96:10, as preserved in the Psalterium Romanum. It contains the reading 'Dominus regnavit a ligno', which is quoted by many Latin writers from Tertullian on as a prophecy of Christ's triumph through death. The only Greek authority for the tradition is Justin Martyr, who regards it as a prophecy of Christ's reign after his crucifixion (*Apol.* i.41) and charges the Jews with having erased it from the text (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 100.73). The charge is probably unjustified. The words are found in only two LXX MSS and in each case have probably been introduced from the Old Latin [Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 577-8].

⁸⁸ 'Its author is almost certainly a 13th century Franciscan' ["*Dies irae*," *ODCC*, 398].

*Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvat sæclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sybilla.*⁸⁹

Indeed, the medieval church's emphasis on the prophetic nature of Psalms became such that Abarbanel, in the fifteenth century, objected to their classifying David among the prophets.⁹⁰

The same hermeneutic prevailed in Psalms' interpretation throughout the Reformation period. Allegorising speculations aside, the following words from Luther indicate that he recognized the Psalms' headings as valid for interpretation and thus as an intrinsic part of the Psalter text. He also regards the psalmists as future-predictive prophets.

Filii Chore spiritum propheticum fere semper ad incarnationem Christi habent magis quam ad passionem. Cuius mysteria clarius David in suo spiritu pronunciat. Ita quilibet prophetarum ad unam magis materiam quam ad aliam videtur spiritum habere. Unde raro filii Core de passione, sed fere semper de incarnatione et nuptiis Christi et Ecclesie loquuntur in gaudio: quod et psalmi eorum sunt iucundi et hilaritate pleni. David autem magis de passione et resurrectione et iis, que in virili etate gessit dominus. Asaph autem potissimum de discretione malorum a consortio piorum, de perditione impiorum et destructione synagoge, ut patet per psalmos eius. Et id forte nominum ratio postulat. Quia filii Chore plures sunt: significantes populum fidei novellum, qui de virgine natus sicut Christus, spiritualiter, ex aqua et spiritu sancto. Hec enim est mystica incarnatio Christi, quod nascitur in illis spiritualiter: immo ipsi ex eo nascuntur. Ideo de ista duplici nativitate, scilicet Christi capitis et corporis eius Ecclesie, omnis eorum psalmus resonat. At David 'manu fortis'⁹¹ iam operantem virtutes et crucem sustinentem indicat: ideo et de illis fere semper loquuntur psalmi eius. Asaph tandem 'congregatio' significat,⁹² discretum populum et congregatum ex illis, qui relinquuntur et non congregantur.⁹³

⁸⁹ 'The day of wrath, that day, shall reduce the world to ashes, as David testifies together with the Sybils.'

⁹⁰ Rosenthal, "Abrabanel," 36. Leiman, "Abarbanel", 49-61, notes Abarbanel's general familiarity with Christian interpretation; he also argues for the pronunciation 'Abarbanel' rather than the more common 'Abrabanel' or 'Abravanel' (49n).

⁹¹ Jerome translates *David* as, 'fortis manu sive desiderabilis' [Opp. Paris (1579) III:474].

⁹² Jerome translates *Asaph* as, 'congregans' [Opp. Paris (1579) III:480].

⁹³ 'The sons of Korah have the prophetic spirit almost always for Christ's incarnation rather than for his passion. David in his spirit speaks of the mysteries of the passion more clearly. Thus any one prophet seems to have the Spirit more for one matter than for another. Hence the sons of Korah rarely speak about the Passion, but almost always speak with joy about Christ's incarnation and his marriage with the church, so that also their psalms are joyful and full of mirth. David, on the contrary, deals more with the Passion and the Resurrection and the things the Lord did in his maturity. Asaph, in turn, talks mostly about the separation of the wicked from the fellowship of the godly, about the destruction of the ungodly and of the synagogue, as is clear from his psalms. And this is perhaps what the significance of the names calls for. The sons of Korah are many, denoting the new people of faith who were born spiritually of water and the Holy Spirit, as Christ was born of the Virgin. This is the mystical incarnation of Christ, that he is born in them spiritually, indeed that they are born of him. Therefore every one of their psalms echoes this twofold birth, namely of Christ the Head and of the church, his body. But David, 'strong of hand', shows Christ now doing miracles and bearing the cross, and

In his introduction to the Psalter, Luther emphasizes its future-predictive nature: 'Und allein deshalb sollte der Psalter teuer und lieb sein, weil er von Christi Sterben und Auferstehen so klar verheißt und sein Reich und der ganzen Christenheit Stand und Wesen verbildet.'⁹⁴

Among other reformers, Bucer produced the first full commentary on the Psalter, *In Librum Psalmorum Interpretatio* (1524).⁹⁵ A capable Hebraist, he was well-acquainted with the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimhi, and refers to their opinions on virtually every page. He regards the headings, especially those containing historical information, as relevant to correct interpretation. He gives priority to the historical setting of psalms texts, yet believes they are to be understood typologically as predicting the true David, the Christ. Calvin, aware of the abuses of mystical interpretation, seeks the plain authorial intention and historical context of a psalm as essential to correct interpretation. Nonetheless, he too espouses cautiously the same broad principles observable in his predecessors. As regards arrangement, he comments that the redactor seems to have placed Ps 1 at the beginning as a preface.⁹⁶ He regards the headings as valid for interpretation and thus an intrinsic part of the Psalms text. For instance, he takes *לַבְנֵי־קֶרֶחַ* and *לְאַסָּף* to mean that David composed these psalms and gave them to these levitical musicians, and takes account of historical information in the heading when interpreting.⁹⁷ He speculates little, and dismisses what is not immediately apparent.⁹⁸ As regards eschatological prophecy, he is cautious, but allows that some psalms, such as 2, 21, 22, 45, 67, 72, 110, contain messianic prophecy, often typologically contained in the events of David's life. Only Coverdale, of all the reformers, thought to change the received text of the Psalter by omitting its headings in his Bible. Subsequent English reformers rectified the omission. Thus, among sixteenth century Christians, the general hermeneutic of Psalms' interpretation differed little from that of the previous two millennia, in the essentials of recognizing the Psalter's literary integrity and future-predictive purpose,

therefore his psalms almost always speak about these things. Finally, Asaph means 'gathering,' the people separated and gathered from those who remain and are not gathered' [*Luthers Werke*, IV:3-4].

⁹⁴ From the introduction to the Psalter of 1528 and 1545 [*Psalmen-Auslegung*, I:3].

⁹⁵ It is discussed by Hobbs, "Martin Bucer and the Englishing of the Psalms," 161-178. See also his "An Introduction to the Psalms Commentary of Martin Bucer," and "How Firm a Foundation: Martin Bucer's Historical Exegesis of the Psalms."

⁹⁶ Comment on Ps 1.

⁹⁷ Comments on Pss 42, 73, and, e.g., Ps 51.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, his comment on *לְשׁוֹן* of Ps 45: 'Ego, ut de re non magni momenti, suspendo sententiam' (As this is a matter of no great consequence, I suspend judgment).

although in specifics, such as Luther's 'destructione synagoge', it varies from rabbinic literature. Similar views prevailed until the early nineteenth century.

VI. The Nineteenth Century.

With the intellectual revolution of the Enlightenment, biblical interpretation in the universities of western Europe was loosed from the authority of church and synagogue. This gave rise to forms of interpretation radically different from all that went before, as a result of which biblical interpretation in the nineteenth century was divided between revisionist and conservative viewpoints. Few, of course, subscribed exclusively to one position, but still there was a dividing of tendencies. It therefore becomes necessary from now on to consider conflicting schools of interpretation.

The revisionist approach came to regard psalm headings as additions of such a late date as to contain no significant information about their respective lyrics. In particular, they denied any link between individuals named in ascriptions and the ensuing psalms. Thus De Wette, von Lengerke, Olshausen, Hupfeld, Graetz, Kuenen, Reuss, Stade, Cheyne, and Duhm are unwilling to connect any psalms with the individuals named.⁹⁹ Ewald and Hitzig are more generous, the former allowing one psalm to David, the latter about thirteen.¹⁰⁰ Cheyne omits all the headings from the text, while others render them in some form or another extraneous.¹⁰¹ Two points were adduced to support this dismissal of the headings. First, the text of some psalms was thought to date from after the time of the person named in the heading. For instance, the Temple seems to be mentioned in some לְדָוִד psalms, and some לְאָסָף and לְדָוִד psalms appear post-exilic (27, 69, 79, 83). It was therefore assumed that these, and all other headings as well, are later pseudepigraphal ascriptions. Olshausen summarises it thus:

Einer genaueren, einigermaßen vorurtheilsfreien Betrachtung hat es jedoch schon längst nicht entgehn können, dass diese Ueberlieferung, ihres Alters ungeachtet, in den allermeisten Fällen nicht für glaubwürdig gehalten werden darf, indem der bei weitem grösste Theil jener 90 Pss.¹⁰² seinem Inhalte nach unmöglich in den Zeiten entstanden sein kann, auf welche die Ueberlieferung hindeutet. Damit wird aber deren Beweiskraft überhaupt nicht bloss geschwächt, sondern ganz und gar hinfällig und ihre

⁹⁹ De Wette, *Psalmen*, 12-14; Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 4-5; Graetz, *Psalmen*, 16; Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888), xvi; Duhm, *Psalmen*, xvi-xviii. Hupfeld does not discuss them in his introduction, places them in parentheses in his translation, and disputes them in his commentary. The opinion of von Lengerke is noted by Delitzsch [*Psalms*, 83]. The opinions of Kuenen, Reuss, and Stade are noted by Briggs [*Psalms*, lvii].

¹⁰⁰ Ewald, *Psalmen*, 1ff; Hitzig, *Psalmen*, xv.

¹⁰¹ See Cheyne's first *Psalms* commentary (1888). Hitzig and Hupfeld put the headings in brackets, while Wellhausen prints them in red and the rest of the psalm in black. Olshausen and Duhm do not cite the headings in their summaries and brief quotes of the psalm text.

¹⁰² That is, those having proper names in the heading.

Angaben auch bei solchen Pss. für die Kritik werthlos, deren Abfassung in der bezeichneten Zeit nicht gerade unmöglich genannt werden kann und sich aus den damaligen Verhältnissen einigermassen begreifen liesse.¹⁰³

Second, LXX additions to the Hebrew headings were thought to indicate an increasing tendency in scribal circles to create headings at all costs. Hence it was surmised that the whole tradition of the headings was itself of late origin. Baethgen summarised it thus:

Bei den Psalmen, welche die Überschrift **לְדָוִד** haben, ist zunächst anzumerken, daß bei mehreren derselben dies **לְדָוִד** textkritisch nicht feststeht . . . ; es fehlt in drei Fällen bei Hier. Targ., in einem Fall bei Hier. und in einem Fall bei Aq. Sexta. Andererseits zeigt der Umstand, daß die LXX bei einer grösseren Anzahl von Psalmen Verfasser, besonders David, nennen, wo sie im hebräischen Text fehlen, daß die Tendenz herrschte, auch den namenlosen Psalmen einen Verfasser zu geben. Das fehlen von **לְדָוִד** in jenen fünf Fällen läßt sich daher nur so erklären, daß die betreffenden fünf Psalmen zur Zeit der Übersetzer noch ἀνεπίγραφοι παρ' Ἑβραίων waren. Sind aber die Angaben über die Verfasser so spät, so haben sie zunächst in diesen Fällen keinen kritischen Wert. Daraus folgt dann aber weiter die Pflicht, auch bei den Psalmen, bei welchen die Angabe des Verfassers bereits von LXX bezeugt wird, zu untersuchen, ob nicht etwa auch bei ihnen das **לְדָוִד** u.s.w. auf einer Vermuthung späterer Leser beruht oder ursprünglich einen anderen Sinn hat.¹⁰⁴

The idea that the Psalter was purposefully arranged was also disputed. Indeed, after the headings fell, it was defenceless, for the headings, demarcating groups of psalms, had always been the best evidence for internal structure. The Psalter came to be regarded instead as 'nur die Überreste der lyrischen Poesie der Israeliten,' and to suggest they were 'eine lyrische Anthologie' was 'in höchstem Masse irreleitend.'¹⁰⁵ Thus many commentators of the period make no remark on the existence of concatenation or upon the characteristics of heading-defined internal collections such as the Asaph or Korah Psalms.¹⁰⁶ Ewald rearranged the psalms into what he considered their chronological order (1839).¹⁰⁷ Instead of being purposefully redacted, the Psalter was said to have grown into its present form by a process of accretion whereby groups of psalms were successively suffixed to one another. The rubric at the

¹⁰³ However, by a more exact and somewhat unprejudiced examination the conclusion has long been unavoidable that this tradition, despite its age, is not credible in the great majority of cases, because by far the greater part of these 90 Pss., according to their content, could not possibly have originated in the time indicated by the tradition. But thereby is their [the headings'] evidential value not merely weakened, but totally and completely invalid, and their statements worthless for criticism, even in those psalms whose composition in the time indicated cannot be ruled out, and which are partially understandable according to the circumstances of that time [Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 4-5].

¹⁰⁴ Baethgen, *Psalmen*, vi.

¹⁰⁵ Baethgen, *Psalmen*, xxxiv. In spite of this, Baethgen comments on the same page on concatenation.

¹⁰⁶ See, eg., Olshausen or Baethgen.

¹⁰⁷ This is referred to by later commentators; eg. Cheyne, *Psalms*, xvi. I have unfortunately been unable to find a copy of it.

end of Book II was appealed to as evidence for this, it being said that since Davidic psalms appeared after that point, the statement that the prayers of David were ended must mark the end of an earlier collection.¹⁰⁸ Jahn states it thus:

In den fünf Büchern der Psalmen haben wir eben so viele Sammlungen der Psalmen vor uns, die nach der Ordnung, in welcher sie aufeinander folgen, gemacht worden. Der erste Sammler wollte bloss Lieder Davids liefern; der zweite fügte seine Sammlung der ersten an, und wollte eine Nachlese der davidischen Lieder geben; doch scheute er sich nicht, auch einige andere Gesänge aufzunehmen. Der Sammler des dritten Buchs hatte seine Absicht gar nicht mehr auf die Lieder Davids gerichtet; und da er seine Sammlung der vorigen anschliessen wollte, so setzte er nach dem 72. Ps. die Schlussformel von dem Ende der Lieder Davids hinzu. Der vierte Sammler beschränkte sich auf namenlose Lieder, daher er nun einen Psalm Mose's und zwei Psalmen Davids liefert. Der fünfte endlich nahm alles zusammen, was noch von heiligen Liedern zu finden war.¹⁰⁹

The traditional assumption that the Psalms foretold eschatological events was disregarded by the modernist movement. Two factors probably contributed to this. The first was the obfuscation of the Psalter's internal structure following the dismissal of the headings. The second was the prevailing naturalism which led to a denial of all future-predictive utterance in biblical writings. Instead a new purpose was proposed for the existence of the Psalter, as Olshausen wrote, "die ursprüngliche Bestimmung der ganzen Sammlung keine andre gewesen sein kann, als die, *der israelitischen Gemeinde zum geistlichen Gesangbuche zu dienen*".¹¹⁰

The rejection of the traditional view of the headings also influenced opinion on the dating of the Psalms. Having dispensed with any connection with pre-exilic figures, like David or the levitical Korahites and Asaphites, there was no necessary link with the pre-exilic period. Olshausen found it 'unbedenklich, daß einige Pss. noch aus der vorexilischen Königszeit herrühren.'¹¹¹ Instead, the way was clear to date the entire corpus in the Maccabean period.

Wenn eine große Zahl von Psalmen in allen Theilen der Sammlung den Zeiten der syrischen Unterdrückung und der maccabäischen Kämpfe angehört, wie es nach den erwähnten Umständen der Fall zu sein scheint, so lässt sich erwarten, daß auch manche andere Gesänge, die mitten unter jene gemischt sind, ohne daß eine unmittelbare Beziehung auf die Lage der Gemeinde deutlich hervorträte, aus derselben Zeit herkommen . . .¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ See de Wette, *Psalmen*, 17; Ewald, *Psalms*, I:13; Baethgen, *Psalmen*, xxix-xxxiv.

¹⁰⁹ Jahn [*Einleitung*, II:718f.] cited by de Wette, *Psalmen*, 17.

¹¹⁰ Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 4. The same idea occurs widely in this period. See, ie, Baethgen, *Psalmen*, xxxv.

¹¹¹ Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 8.

¹¹² Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 7-8.

And books IV and V were dated yet later still, to the time of John Hyrcanus.¹¹³ The denial of the traditional dating, although not directly relevant to the interpretation of the Psalter, yet affected the new view which was to be proposed of it.

Thus this period saw the overthrow of all the traditional tenets of Psalms' interpretation regarding the headings, the arrangement of lyrics, and the prophetic nature of the collection. Instead of being prophetic scripture, compiled largely from lyrics of Israel's golden age, it had become a haphazard collection of hymns dating largely from post-exilic times and conglomerated piecemeal in the late Maccabean period to be a second temple hymnbook.

However, although the above views were predominant throughout the nineteenth century, a significant minority of commentators continued to maintain many of traditional tenets of Psalms' interpretation. Hengstenberg (1848) maintains that לְדָוִד and some other ascriptions indicate authorship.¹¹⁴ He discusses the headings and book divisions at length, and finds the Psalter 'has in no respect the character of a work done piecemeal.'¹¹⁵ He also finds messianic prophecy in individual psalms.¹¹⁶ Alexander, who owes much to Hengstenberg, shares his view of the headings, and discusses the order of lyrics and concatenation.¹¹⁷ He observes that trilogies and even more extensive systems of individual psalms can be traced, each 'independent of the rest, and yet together forming beautiful and striking combinations, particularly when the nucleus or the basis of the series is an ancient psalm . . . to which others have been added.'¹¹⁸ He also holds that some psalms are intentionally prophetic.¹¹⁹ Delitzsch, also influenced by Hengstenberg,¹²⁰ achieves perhaps the best balance between criticism and tradition of all nineteenth century commentators. He generally supports the validity of the headings. He allows 'many' psalms to be by David, and suggests that the initial collections behind Pss 3-72 date from Solomon's time, and that Ps 90 is by Moses.¹²¹ He notes that the order of the lyrics cannot be explained purely on the basis of chronological evolution, and indicates evidence of editorial activity in the Psalter,

¹¹³ Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 8.

¹¹⁴ Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, Appendix, xvii-xxii.

¹¹⁵ Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, Appendix, xxxii-liv, xxxix.

¹¹⁶ Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, Appendix, lxxviii-lxxx.

¹¹⁷ Alexander, *Psalms*, vii-xiv.

¹¹⁸ Alexander, *Psalms*, ix-x.

¹¹⁹ Alexander, *Psalms*, 8.

¹²⁰ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 84.

¹²¹ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 10, 20, 22-23.

noting concatenation in particular.¹²² In the light of this he detects 'the impress of one ordering spirit,' a compiler whose arrangement displays, on the lesser level, 'the principle of homogeneity,'¹²³ and on the larger level, the same sort of upward progression remarked upon by Gregory of Nyssa.

The beginning of the Psalter celebrates the blessedness of those who walk in conformity with the redeeming will of God . . . the end of the Psalter soars to the blessed height of the consummation of all things.¹²⁴

Delitzsch also noted that a central theme was discernable in the collection, that is, concern with the Davidic covenant and its ultimate fulfilment in Messiah.¹²⁵ Indeed, he recognized messianic hope not only in the Psalter's compilation, but also in the mind of individual psalmists. Of Ps 2 he remarks, 'Der Dichter ist in die Zukunft versetzt, wo die gesamte Völkerwelt sich wieder Jahve und seinen Christus (משיח) erheben wird.'¹²⁶

Other commentators of this period deal with the arrangement and purpose of the Psalter. One approach was that of de Lagarde (1880). Building on the temple hymnbook theory, he proposed that the five divisions of the Psalter were intended for five different portions of public worship, the requirements of which explained internal repetitions in the collection.¹²⁷ This approach was taken up and developed by a number of subsequent commentators. More neglected, yet more original, was the work of J. Forbes, Professor of Oriental Languages at Aberdeen, whose *Studies in the Book of Psalms* (1888) anticipates much recent scholarship. Alone of his generation, he realized that the final arrangement of the Psalter is greater than its parts.

But whatever may be thought of the original purport of these Psalms, when we look at the place which has been assigned them in the Psalter as now constituted (arranged certainly in its present form a considerable time before the Septuagint version), and to the order and connection in which they stand, it becomes impossible with any fairness to deny that they were intended to excite in the Jewish worshippers an expectation of the Messiah . . .¹²⁸

¹²² Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 18-28, esp. 25-26. He discusses concatenation at greater length in the treatise *Symbolae ad Psalmos illustrandos isagogicae*.

¹²³ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 24, 26.

¹²⁴ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 24-25.

¹²⁵ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 88-95.

¹²⁶ Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, 107.

¹²⁷ P. de Lagarde, "Erklärung hebräischer Wörter," in *Abhandlung der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 26 (1880). It also appeared under the separate title *Orientalia*, II:13ff.

¹²⁸ Forbes, *Studies*, 3.

His justification for this approach was twofold. First, the retention of the royal psalms after the extinction of the monarchy is explicable only on the grounds of 'an unshaken expectation, still continuing, of a greater king yet to come than either a David or a Solomon'; second, the prominence accorded to these royal psalms, shows a high significance was attached to them. And if the remainder of Forbes' theory is less enduring, these introductory remarks anticipate the premisses of recent scholarship on the canonical form of the Psalter, including the present thesis. Another original thinker was Bishop E. G. King. In the third volume of his commentary on Psalms (1898-1905), he proposes that the Psalter was designed to be read with the triennial lectionary cycle of Torah in the synagogue, and demonstrates striking correspondences between them.¹²⁹ Later commentators, who originated similar theories, apparently independently of King, may be the poorer for not knowing his work. In other areas too, original ideas are scattered half-developed through his commentary like uncut diamonds.

VII. The Twentieth Century.

The Psalms interpretation of the twentieth century appears, in retrospect, like a process of slow recovery from the scepticism of the nineteenth. It can be regarded under four heads: a synthesising period and three schools. The first of these, dominating the first quarter of the century, is the synthesising period, without any dominant disciplines or schools of thought. Its significant commentaries aim for a middle ground somewhere between the liberals and traditionalists. If none is as conservative as Hengstenberg, neither is any as sceptical as Olshausen. The first major commentary of the century is that of Kirkpatrick (1903), a work which displays a broad mastery of the ancient literature. As regards the arrangement of the Psalter, he notes concatenation and suggests that the Temple hymnbook theory is insufficient. He discusses the messianic theme, but does not regard it as an organisational principle in the compilation of the collection. He concludes that the compilers worked with a number of ends in view, both liturgical and devotional.¹³⁰ As regards headings, he concludes:

While however the titles cannot be accepted as giving trustworthy information in regard to the authorship of the Psalms, they are not to be regarded as entirely worthless. . . . It seems probable that, in many cases at least, they indicate the source from which the Psalms were derived rather than the opinion of the collector as to their authorship.¹³¹

¹²⁹ King, *Psalms*, III: v-xiv.

¹³⁰ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, I-li, lxxvi.

¹³¹ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, xxxii-xxxiii.

His view of the five-book division is typically cautious: '... the division of the books in part corresponds to older collections out of which the Psalter was formed, in part is purely artificial, and probably had its origin in the wish to compare the Psalter with the Pentateuch.'¹³² Cheyne, unlike Kirkpatrick, was unfettered by circumspection. In his second commentary (1904), he makes bizarre changes without ground or defence to the entire Psalter. The entire heading of Ps 51, for instance, is 'corrected' to *Deposited. Marked: of 'Arab-ethan. For the Sabbath*. Briggs (1906) believes the Psalter was redacted at the end of the second century to be a hymnbook suitable for use in both temple and synagogue.¹³³ He regards the headings as almost entirely spurious and dates the composition of most psalms in the late Persian to Maccabean periods, although he allows that some may be pre-exilic.¹³⁴ He seems to regard some psalms (2, 110) as intentionally messianic, and others as perhaps less intentionally so (22, 40, 69, and 'the royal psalms').¹³⁵

Probably the most original thinker of the first quarter of the century was J. P. Peters, who anticipated the work of Mowinckel in his concern to ascertain the cultic life-setting of the Psalms.¹³⁶ Another distinctive of his work was his emphasis on the historical setting of psalms collections, rather than individual lyrics. The internal collections were of such importance to him that he rearranged the Psalms, bringing divided collections, such as the Korah Psalms, together. He made the interesting suggestion that the Elohist Psalter originated in the Northern Kingdom — the Korah Psalms coming from the Dan cult and the Asaph Psalms from a Josephite shrine.¹³⁷ He also published a separate study on the Songs of Ascents.¹³⁸ He considered the distinctive headings of these collections as indicative of cultic traditions from which these psalms came. He also gives considerable attention to headings in general.¹³⁹ Occasionally he suggests that parts of the Psalter were redacted on literary principles with eschatological aims.

It [Ps. 72] is not a liturgy for a sacrifice, but an ode, like Ps. 2, to depict the glories of the kingdom of the ideal king of David's line, the Messiah or Christ that was to be, and appears to have been designed for the conclusion of the collection of the Psalms of

¹³² Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, xviii.

¹³³ Briggs, *Psalms*, xc-xcii.

¹³⁴ Briggs, *Psalms*, lviii, xc-xci.

¹³⁵ Briggs, *Psalms*, xcvi.

¹³⁶ The Paddock Lectures (1920), published as *The Psalms as Liturgies* (1922).

¹³⁷ Peters, *The Psalms as Liturgies*, 9-10, 273ff.

¹³⁸ Peters, "Notes on the Pilgrim Psalter."

¹³⁹ Peters, *The Psalms as Liturgies*, 32-50.

David, as Ps. 2, a much more militant treatment of the same theme, was for the commencement of that volume.¹⁴⁰

However this thought-provoking work appears to have gone largely unnoticed until Goulder developed some of Peters' ideas more than six decades later.

The first two of the three schools of twentieth century Psalms scholarship were the Form Critical approaches developed by H. Gunkel and S. Mowinckel respectively. Gunkel, the pioneer of Form Criticism, attempted to define psalms according to categories of literary genres (*Gattungen*), and to discover the original life-setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of a *Gattung* and its psalms. These *Gattungen* were formulated partly by comparison with the literary forms of other recently discovered ancient oriental literature, but also took into account theme and content, and were therefore useful tools of broad categorisation. Gunkel defined several major *Gattungen*: hymns, communal laments, royal psalms, individual laments (and psalms of trust), and individual thanksgiving psalms. He also indicated minor *Gattungen*: communal thanksgiving psalms, pilgrimage psalms, and liturgies.¹⁴¹ This approach, recognizing as it did the Psalms' resemblance to other ancient literature, helped reassert a more traditional view of dating. Gunkel allowed that some might have originated in the pre-exilic period. As regards the arrangement of the Psalter, he adopts a middle ground. At the beginning of his last work, *Einleitung in Die Psalmen*, he calls for investigation into inter-psalm links.

Nun ist es aber ein unverbrüchliche Grundsatz der Wissenschaft, daß nichts ohne seine Zusammenhang verstanden werden kann. Es wird demnach *die eigentliche Aufgabe der Psalmenforschung sein, die Verbindungen zwischen die einzelnen Liedern wiederauszufinden*.¹⁴²

However, while acknowledging Delitzsch's work on concatenation, he disagrees with his view that there is an overarching purpose in the Psalter,¹⁴³ believing it originated by a process of gradual evolution.

Die Ergebnis, daß sich kein einheitliches Prinzip für die überlieferte Aufeinanderfolge erkennen läßt, wohl aber verschiedene Gesichtspunkte bei der Zusammenstellung einzelner Psalmen nachweisbar sind . . . drängt zu dem Schlusse, daß das Psalmbuch seinen gegenwärtigen Zustand einem verwickelten Entstehungsvorgang verdankt . . .¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Peters, *The Psalms as Liturgies*, 270.

¹⁴¹ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 1-33. Successive chapters deal with the *Gattungen* individually.

¹⁴² Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 4.

¹⁴³ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 435.

¹⁴⁴ Gunkel u. Begrich, *Einleitung*, 436.

He virtually ignores headings and subscripts. *Einleitung in die Psalmen* has no more than a short supplement on the musical terms, written by his student, Begrich, after Gunkel's death.¹⁴⁵ Yet while he recognizes no overarching purpose in the Psalter, he notes that certain psalms are in a form which shows them to be intentionally eschatological prophecy (9, 46, 47, 48, 68, 76, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 149).¹⁴⁶

Mowinckel, Gunkel's student, built upon his teacher's *Gattungsgeschichte*, but emphasized the need to understand the Psalms in relation to their cultic function in Israel. For, although Gunkel had already recognized that some psalms were of cultic origin, he thought the majority were spiritualized imitations of earlier psalms, deriving from conventicles of pious laymen.¹⁴⁷ Mowinckel however recognized that the numerous cultic allusions in the Psalms require that the majority of them originated in the cult. In his *Psalmstudien* (1921-24), he sought not only to define their *Sitz im Leben*, but also to reconstruct the festivals in which they originated. In the second *Psalmstudien* monograph, *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (1920), he proposed, by analogy with the annual 'enthronement of Marduk' ritual, or *bit akitu*, of the Babylonian autumn new year festival, that ancient Israel had an annual 'enthronement of Yhwh' festival. This celebrated Yhwh's victory, like that of Marduk or Baal, over the creation-negating forces of chaos. He proposed that about 40 psalms were connected with this festival.

As regards the editorial purpose behind the Psalter, he rejects the hymnbook idea, considering historical preservation of ancient texts as the redactional impulse behind the collection.¹⁴⁸ He discusses psalm headings at some length.¹⁴⁹ He allows that some Davidic psalms are very ancient, dating even from David's time, but their ascriptions do not indicate authorship.¹⁵⁰ Rather, some Psalms of David and Solomon may have been written for the use of these people, 'in dessen Namen ein gutes Omen lag,' and these ascriptions were mistakenly thought by later generations to indicate authorship. From this arose the biblical tradition that David was a musician and a poet.¹⁵¹ Other

¹⁴⁵ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 455-8.

¹⁴⁶ Gunkel u. Begrich, *Einleitung*, 329-81.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. also Briggs [*Psalms*, xcvi]: "Many of the Pss. in their original form were composed as an expression of private devotion."

¹⁴⁸ Mowinckel, *PIW*, II:204.

¹⁴⁹ The fourth monograph, *Die Technischen Termini in den Psalmüberschriften*, investigates the musical and cultic terms in the headings. The sixth monograph, *Die Psalmdichter*, deals with personal names in the headings.

¹⁵⁰ Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien*, VI:72, 76. Elsewhere Mowinckel states that only a minority of psalms date from the 'late Jewish period' [Preface to *Psalms in Israel's Worship*].

¹⁵¹ Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien*, VI:75, 72-81.

ascriptions, such as Asaph, Heman, Ethan, and the Sons of Korah, indicate not authorship, but the names of guilds who made these collections.¹⁵² He regards the five-book division as merely accidental, the doxologies being carried into the Psalter along with their preceding psalms, to which they were already attached. Later generations developed the five-book idea.¹⁵³ He recognizes the prophetic tone of many psalms, and suggests they originated as cultic oracles, in answer to contemporary requirements of divine guidance and exhortation.¹⁵⁴ However he excludes the possibility of there being any intentionally eschatological or messianic reference in the Psalter.¹⁵⁵

Other commentaries of the time tended to be overshadowed by the work of Gunkel and Mowinckel. Barnes (1931) is moderately conservative. He says little regarding the place of the headings in interpretation, but does not dismiss them, coming 'to the study of the Psalter prepared to find some Davidic compositions there.'¹⁵⁶ He appears to ascribe tacitly to the view that the Psalter is the second temple hymnbook. He regards some psalms (2, 72, 85, 89) as messianic in the sense that they long for the return of Israel's Golden Age under a righteous king. But Ps 2 and 110 barely make it; apparently they are too warlike to refer to his conception of messiah.¹⁵⁷ Oesterley (1939) states that the headings 'formed no part of the text in its original form' but 'many of them indicate the collection to which the psalm in question belonged before being incorporated in the Psalter.'¹⁵⁸ He says little about the date of composition of the lyrics, but rejects Maccabean theories and suggests that some psalms may have originated in ancient dramatic epics, such as those which are familiar to us from the *cultus* of Babylon and Ugarit.¹⁵⁹ He finds it likely that the Psalter was compiled for use in the *cultus*, and seems to endorse the view that it was compiled piecemeal over a period of time, but does not exclude the possibility of purposeful final redaction.¹⁶⁰ He is emphatic that there is deliberate eschatological prophecy in the Psalter, and comes close to suggesting that the purpose of this redaction may have been to outline an eschatological drama.

¹⁵² Mowinckel, *Psalmestudien*, VI:69-71.

¹⁵³ Mowinckel, *PIW*, II:197.

¹⁵⁴ See *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen*, the third monograph of *Psalmestudien*. Also *PIW*, II:53-73.

¹⁵⁵ Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I:48-49.

¹⁵⁶ Barnes, *Psalms*, xxviii.

¹⁵⁷ Barnes, *Psalms*, xlii-xliv.

¹⁵⁸ Oesterley, *Psalms*, 9.

¹⁵⁹ Oesterley, *Psalms*, 67-73, 2.

¹⁶⁰ Oesterley, *Psalms*, 1-4.

That for the whole picture of the Eschatological Drama as presented in the Psalter the psalmists were indebted to the prophets is as clear as anything could be; the thoughts expressed and the very words used are in almost every detail taken from the prophetic writings.¹⁶¹

Yet, strangely, he concludes, 'there is no reference to the Messiah; but this, too, is in accordance with the predominant teaching of the prophets.'¹⁶²

Given the virtually universal acceptance of the temple hymnbook theory, it was natural that other attempts, after Lagarde and King, should be made to connect the sequence of Psalms with synagogue lectionary cycles. J. Dahse (1927) and N. H. Snaith (1933) suggested that the 150 Psalms correspond to the sabbaths of a three-year period, in line with the triennial lectionary cycle of Torah in the synagogue, a practice current in Palestine in talmudic times (Meg 29b).¹⁶³ Thus the five books of Psalms would have been read with *sedarim* from the Pentateuch. L. Rabinowitz claimed to find support for this idea in the pentateuchal passages cited in Midrash Tehillim.¹⁶⁴ C. T. Niemeyer countered that the triennial Torah reading was a late development (1950).¹⁶⁵ However A. Guilding (1952) and A. Arens (1961-2) continued to support the hypothesis, the latter providing definite evidence for a three-year Torah cycle in ancient synagogue worship.¹⁶⁶ Much in these hypotheses remains cogent, in spite of disclaimers.¹⁶⁷

The third quarter of the twentieth century continued to be dominated by the Form Critical approaches developed by Gunkel and Mowinckel. Kissane (1953), Kraus (1960, 5th edn. 1978), Westermann (ET 1966), and Jacquet (1976-8) tend to follow Gunkel in classifying psalms according to literary form. Johnson (1955, 1979), Weiser (1959), and Eaton (1967, 1976) follow Mowinckel in their concern with reconstructing the place of the Psalms in ancient Israel's cultus. In general, they make no radical steps out of the Form Critical moulds established by Gunkel and Mowinckel. They generally discuss psalm headings in detail, yet conclude that they

¹⁶¹ Oesterley, *Psalms*, 93.

¹⁶² Oesterley, *Psalms*, 93.

¹⁶³ Dahse, *Das Rätsel des Psalters gelöst*; Snaith, "The Triennial Cycle".

¹⁶⁴ Rabinowitz, "Does Midrash Tillim Reflect the Triennial Cycle of Psalms," 349ff.

¹⁶⁵ C. T. Niemeyer, *Het Problem van de rangshikking der Psalmen*.

¹⁶⁶ Guilding, "Some Obscured Rubrics," 41-55; Arens, "Hat der Psalter seinen 'Sitz im Leben' in der synagogalen Leseordnung des Pentateuch?" 107-132; *Die Psalmen in Gottesdienst des Alten Bundes*. Arens cites evidence from I. Elbogen [*Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 159ff.] for the antiquity of the triennial reading.

¹⁶⁷ Heinemann, "Triennial Lectionary Cycle"; Porter, "The Pentateuch"; Day, *Psalms*, 110.

are later additions. Views vary on how much later these additions might be, and on their usefulness for determining origin and interpretation. Kraus is most sceptical.

לדוד is not a reliable reference to the writer of a psalm. This critical judgment applies also for those psalms which according to the information in the title are to be credited to Solomon, Moses, Asaph, the Korahites, Heman, or Ethan. Originally all of the psalm poetry was transmitted anonymously.¹⁶⁸

He has nothing to say about the arrangement of the lyrics. Others however tend to regard personal ascriptions as denoting the collection from which a particular psalm was taken.¹⁶⁹ There is a general consensus that many psalms originated in pre-exilic times.¹⁷⁰ Most agree in dismissing the Maccabean hypothesis. All subscribe to the view that the Psalter's redaction was piecemeal, that the arrangement of its lyrics reflects only the order in which the various collections were added to one another,¹⁷¹ and that it was used as a hymnbook for temple or synagogue worship.¹⁷² But opinions vary on how intentional this redaction was. Some think the final collection was deliberately redacted for temple and synagogue worship. Others think there was no actual purpose behind the final collection, but that it resulted only from a tendency of Psalms' collections to become joined together.¹⁷³ The dominant theory tends to be that it was formed from three earlier collections: the first Yahwistic collection (3-41), the Elohist collection (42-83+84-89), and the later Yahwistic collection (90-150).¹⁷⁴ Views vary on which collection was the earliest.¹⁷⁵

Views on messianism and eschatology vary. Kraus, in his lengthy section on the theology of the Psalms, makes no comment on eschatological or messianic content in the Psalter, and dismisses passages such as 'against Yhwh and against his messiah' as secondary additions.¹⁷⁶ Eaton likewise has no comment on intentional messianism or eschatology, but does note that Christians have understood the Psalms as referring to Christ.¹⁷⁷ Weiser does not refer specifically to eschatology, although he notes that these ideas existed in Israel at an early period, and cannot therefore not be used as

¹⁶⁸ Kraus, *Psalmen*, I:65. Weiser also thinks 'the psalms were originally anonymous and probably remained so for a long time' [*Psalms*, 95].

¹⁶⁹ Kissane, *Psalms*, xxii-xxvii; Weiser, *Psalms*, 94-5.

¹⁷⁰ Eaton, *Psalms*, 1; Kissane, *Psalms*, xi, xxxi-xxxii; Weiser, *Psalms*, 91ff.

¹⁷¹ Kraus, *Psalmen*, I:18-20; Eaton, *Psalms*, 18-19; Kissane, *Psalms*, ix-x; Weiser, *Psalms*, 99.

¹⁷² Kraus, *Psalmen*, I:18-20; Eaton, *Psalms*, 18-19; Kissane, *Psalms*, ix-x; Weiser, *Psalms*, 21.

¹⁷³ Kraus, *Psalms*, I:20.

¹⁷⁴ Kraus, *Psalms*, I:18-20; Kissane, *Psalms*, x.

¹⁷⁵ Kraus [*Psalms*, I:18-20] seems to suggest the Elohist collection is earliest; Kissane [*Psalms*, xi] thinks the first Yahwistic collection is earliest.

¹⁷⁶ Kraus, *Psalmen*, I:68-81, 123-4.

¹⁷⁷ Eaton, *Psalms*, 26-28.

evidence against the early dating of these psalms.¹⁷⁸ Kissane, however, regards some psalms as intentionally messianic. Their authors, he says, are 'dealing with the ideal king of the future, who reigns for ever and whose kingdom embraces all mankind.'¹⁷⁹ Among such psalms he includes 2, 20, 21, 72 and 110, and, to a lesser extent, 89, 132, and 45. He also calls some psalms, 87, 93, 97, 99, messianic in the sense of eschatological. But, although he allows that individual psalms are intentionally messianic, he implicitly denies that the Psalter itself has an eschatological thrust when he says that some psalms, such as 22 and 31, applied to Jesus in NT, did not refer in their original context to Messiah.¹⁸⁰ Form critical approaches have persisted into the last quarter of the twentieth century. A fifth and revised edition of Kraus's commentary was published (1978; ET, 1988), most other modern commentaries contain some discussion of form critical issues, and M. D. Goulder's work, discussed below, contains some form critical suppositions.

The third school of twentieth century Psalms scholarship focused its attention on the final redacted form of the Psalter, rather than on the origin, literary genre, or cultic function of individual psalms. Several forces led to the development of this discipline. One was the general rise of interest, in the 70's and 80's, in the literary approach to biblical texts. Another was the related discipline of Canon Criticism developed by B. S. Childs in the same period. Probably it is to Childs, more than any other individual, that the development of this discipline must be attributed. However, interest in the purposeful arrangement of individual psalms had already been developing some decades previously. During the heyday of Form Criticism, several Jewish scholars, A. Cohen, S. R. Hirsch, and U. Cassuto, noted concatenation in the Psalms, with its attendant implication of purposeful construction of the Psalter. Cassuto comments:

One of the methods of arrangement that plays an important part in the Bible (in several books it even enjoys precedence) is that of association — not just association of ideas but also, and primarily, association of words and expressions, a technique whose initial purpose was possibly to aid the memory. The importance of this method in comprehending the arrangement of the Biblical books has not yet been adequately recognized in the study of the Scriptures. Although Delitzsch in his day sensed its existence to a certain extent in the Book of Psalms, yet in the course of time his observations on the subject in his commentary on the Psalter were forgotten, and today hardly anyone pays attention to them.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Weiser, *Psalms*, 92.

¹⁷⁹ Kissane, *Psalms*, xx.

¹⁸⁰ Kissane, *Psalms*, xx, xx-xxii.

¹⁸¹ Cassuto, "The Sequence and Arrangement of the Biblical Sections," 1-2. See also Cohen, *Psalms*; Hirsch, *Psalms*.

W. Zimmerli also investigated concatenation. In his discussion of what he terms *Zwillingspsalmen* (1972), he identifies 20 psalm-pairs and allows there may be more.¹⁸² Much of this had been recognized before, but Zimmerli's work was valuable in collecting it and bringing it to the fore. However, ten of Zimmerli's pairs overlap to form connected groups of three (73-75, 79-81) or four psalms (30-33, 38-41), and such triplets and quadruplets ought probably to be recognized in their own right. C. Barth also made a study of concatenation in the first book of Psalms, in which he lists 17 principles of concatenation, including exact recurrences of forms, recurrences of roots, recurrences of word-pairs and three and four word sequences.¹⁸³ Other valuable studies on concatenation have since been made by L. C. Allen, P. Auffret, J. K. Kuntz, and J. L. Mays.¹⁸⁴

While other commentators were studying the arrangement of small psalm-groups, C. Westermann, in the 60's and 70's published studies of the larger literary structure of the Psalter.¹⁸⁵ These owe much to the literary genres of Form Criticism. Indeed his observations began not with literary aims, but with yet another attempt to describe the diachronic process of the Psalter's compilation. He noted that Pss 1-90 comprise chiefly laments and Pss 91-150 chiefly *hodayoth*, or psalms of praise, and suggested that the Psalter was compiled from two collections of different Form Critical *Gattungen*. He then observed that the Psalter displays an overall pattern of progress from lament to praise, that praise psalms have a closural function in internal collections, and that the royal psalms form part of the framework of the Psalter.¹⁸⁶ This was a giant step for a Form Critic. It led from the literary classification of individual psalms to studying their arrangement in the collection.

J. P. Brennan (1976) suggested that a link could be found between the micro and macro structures of the Psalter by allowing internal groups to show the way to the larger literary structure of the whole:

¹⁸² Zimmerli [*Zwillingspsalmen*] identifies as pairs Pss 1-2; 3-4; 9-10; 30-31; 31-32; 32-33; 38-39; 39-40; 40-41; 43-44; 69-70; 73-74; 74-75; 77-78; 79-80; 80-81; 105-106; 111-112; 127-128.

¹⁸³ Barth, "Concatenatio," 30-40.

¹⁸⁴ Allen, "David as Exemplar"; Auffret, "Complements . . . du Ps 2 et son rapport au Ps 1"; "Allez, fils, entendez-moi": étude structurelle du Psaume 34 et son rapport au Psaume 33"; Kuntz, "King Triumphant"; Mays, "The Place of the Torah-Psalms."

¹⁸⁵ The earliest article on this theme is "Zur Sammlung des Psalters"; later work is summarised in "The Formation of the Psalter" in *Praise and Lament*.

¹⁸⁶ Westermann, "The Formation," 250-258.

. . . the Psalter has not developed in a haphazard and arbitrary way, but has been carefully woven together in such a manner that previously independent compositions, or smaller collections of such compositions, now comment upon or respond to one another.¹⁸⁷

For this reason, he concludes, a proper understanding of the Psalter requires that its parts be studied in relation to one another, 'since all of them together convey more than they do if looked at separately.'¹⁸⁸ In a later article (1980), Brennan moves tentatively toward the question of redactor-intent in the Psalter.¹⁸⁹ He notes the unifying and linking function of the wisdom motif throughout. Ps 1 sets out two ways, presenting the subsequent collection as a book of wisdom commenting on the struggle between good and evil. Ps 2 defines the opponents as Yhwh's anointed and the heathen. Therefore, although the historical origins of individual psalms were the Jerusalem cult, the Psalter in its final form is a book of wisdom rather than cultic material. Brennan concludes that 'such a reading of the Psalter opens the way to an eschatological and messianic interpretation of many texts which had originally only a limited national and historical setting.'¹⁹⁰

Childs had already made similar observations (1979).¹⁹¹ He notes a distinct eschatological thrust in the canonical shaping of the Psalter. Pss 1 and 2 form an introduction creating an eschatological framework for the ensuing collection, and so impose a messianic interpretation even on originally non-messianic psalms.¹⁹² This is confirmed by their being the only untitled psalms in LXX. In the period when the Psalter was redacted, a contemporary understanding of Ps 2 would have referred it to the coming judgment and kingship of God. For, at that time, when the monarchy had been long destroyed, the term *mashiah* would have been understood only of the eschatological deliverer.¹⁹³ In addition, other royal psalms are scattered throughout the Psalter, and, unlike pilgrimage songs, and community and individual complaints, they do not appear as groups. Childs infers from this arrangement that their original *Sitz im Leben* has been disregarded by the redactor, and that they now represent the presence of the messianic hope pervading the whole collection.¹⁹⁴ He remarks,

¹⁸⁷ Brennan, "Some Hidden Harmonies," 126.

¹⁸⁸ Brennan, "Some Hidden Harmonies," 127.

¹⁸⁹ Brennan, "Psalms 1-8," 25-29.

¹⁹⁰ Brennan, "Psalms 1-8," 29.

¹⁹¹ Childs, *Introduction*, 511-18.

¹⁹² Childs, *Introduction*, 511-13.

¹⁹³ Childs, *Introduction*, 516.

¹⁹⁴ Childs, *Introduction*, 515-16.

... although the royal psalms arose originally in a peculiar historical setting of ancient Israel which had received its form from a common mythopoetic milieu, they were treasured in the Psalter for a different reason, namely as a witness to the messianic hope which looked for the consummation of God's kingship through his Anointed One.¹⁹⁵

This eschatological reinterpretation applies not only to the royal psalms, but to the entire Psalter.

However one explains it, the final form of the Psalter is highly eschatological in nature. It looks toward to [sic] the future and passionately yearns for its arrival. Even when the psalmist turns briefly to reflect on the past in praise of the 'great things Yahweh has done', invariably the movement shifts and again the hope of salvation is projected into the future (Ps 126:6). The perspective of Israel's worship in the Psalter is eschatologically oriented. As a result, the Psalter in its canonical form, far from being different in kind from the prophetic message, joins with the prophets in announcing God's coming kingship. When the New Testament heard in the Psalms eschatological notes, its writers were standing in the context of the Jewish canon in which the community of faith worshipped and waited.¹⁹⁶

J. Reindl (1981) regards the editors of the Psalter as belonging to the wisdom tradition, and sees Ps 1 as a *proœmium* for the reader, setting out two ways. The finished Psalter is thus a wisdom document, in which the words, *in his Torah he meditates day and night*, may be applied to the Psalter itself. For this reason the original cultic *Sitz im Leben* of individual psalms becomes insignificant in the face of the new *Sitz im Leben* which the Psalter has received.¹⁹⁷

The publication of several studies dealing specifically with literary aspects of internal psalm collections also served to bring the question of the Psalter's literary structure to the fore. In one sense studies of internal collections had never ceased.¹⁹⁸ However, the dominance of antipathetic hermeneutics throughout the previous 150 years had limited their influence. As Mannati noted, what was needed was that they be treated in their own right, free from the dominance of theories that virtually denied their existence.

Admettre l'existence à l'intérieur du psautier biblique du genre « psaumes graduels » donne un principe d'explication pour ceux des psaumes qui sans lui restaient peu clairs, c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire . . . , et augmente l'intelligibilité des autres Le cas des graduels oblige à assouplir la théorie gunkélienne des genres des psaumes. Pour eux, ce n'est pas la structure de chaque texte qui est l'élément spécifique, mais la courbe, très nette et chronologiquement rigoureuse (l'ordre ne peut être modifié, même si des phases manquent).¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Childs, *Introduction*, 517.

¹⁹⁶ Childs, *Introduction*, 518.

¹⁹⁷ Reindl, *Weisheitliche Bearbeitung*, 340.

¹⁹⁸ See Armfield, *The Gradual Psalms*; Cox, *The Pilgrim Psalter*; Kessler, Kopfstein, Peters, Keet, King, Watts, Wanke.

¹⁹⁹ Mannati, "Les psaumes graduels," 99.

M. D. Goulder tried to ascertain the original cultic *Sitze im Leben* of certain psalm-groups before their redaction into the Psalter. In "The Fourth Book of the Psalter" (1975) he detects repetition of material among odd and even numbered psalms in Book IV, and suggests this reflects a pattern of morning and evening prayer connected with the Feast of Tabernacles; he then proposes a detailed liturgy based on these psalms. In *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah* (1982) he proposes that the Korah collection originally formed the liturgy for the Feast of Tabernacles at the Dan shrine, and entered the Psalter through the Jerusalem cult, which received it from the Dan priests, probably after the loss of Dan and Naphtali in 730 BCE.²⁰⁰ In *The Prayers of David* (1990) Goulder proposes that Pss 51 to 72 were written by 'a court poet, a priest, probably one of David's sons, "for David",' and that they 'were chanted liturgically in a procession one day in the autumn festival at Jerusalem.'²⁰¹ K.-J. Illman (1976) and H. P. Nasuti (1988) seek to identify the particular tradition-groups which lie behind the Asaph Psalms, and, in so doing, provide valuable literary analysis of this collection.²⁰² Y. Bazak has produced literary analyses of the Hallel Psalms.²⁰³ K. Seybold (1978-79), M. Mannati (1979), and D. Grossberg (1989) have published studies of the Songs of Ascents containing various degrees of literary analysis.²⁰⁴ P. Auffret, in the volume *La sagesse a bâti sa maison*, has detailed literary-structural studies of three psalm collections (Pss 15-24, 120-134, and 135-138). He and many others have produced detailed literary studies of many individual psalms.

This scholarship of the 70's and early 80's was seminal work. Several principles emerged from it to guide subsequent investigation. First, a literary rationale is responsible for the final form of the Psalter. Second, this rationale reflects a non-liturgical *Sitz im Leben*. Third, wisdom motifs play some part in the scheme.²⁰⁵ Others, building on this foundational work, have tried to ascertain the details of the Psalter's redactional agenda more precisely. The most influential is G. H. Wilson, a student of Childs. In *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (1985) his twofold purpose is to demonstrate that purposeful editorial activity lies behind the Psalter, and to identify

²⁰⁰ Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah*, 16-19.

²⁰¹ Goulder, *The Prayers*, 24, 28.

²⁰² Illman, *Thema und Tradition*; Nasuti, *Tradition History*.

²⁰³ Bazak, Y, "The Six Chapters of the 'Hallel'"; "The Set of the Six Chapters of the 'Hallel'".

²⁰⁴ Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen*; "Die Redaktion der Wallfahrtspsalmen"; Mannati, "Les Psaumes Graduels"; Grossberg, "Centrifugal and Centripetal Structures."

²⁰⁵ These points are noted by Howard, 'Editorial Activity,' 61-2, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 52-70.

the agenda which guided the redaction. As regards the first of these, he does a thorough job. Having examined the use of headings and colophons in other ancient Near Eastern collections of hymnic lyrics, the Sumerian Temple Hymns, the Mesopotamian Hymnic Incipits, and the Qumran Psalms manuscripts, he notes that purposeful redaction is evident in all these texts. He then examines internal evidence for editorial activity in the Psalter, and identifies both 'explicit' indicators, such as psalm headings and Ps 72:20, and 'tacit' indicators such as the grouping of *halleluyah* psalms (104-106, 111-117, 135, 146-150) at the end of segments.²⁰⁶ He concludes:

I have been able to show (1) that the "book" divisions of the Psalter are real, editorially induced divisions and not accidentally introduced; (2) the "separating" and "binding" functions of author and genre groupings; (3) the lack of a s/s as an indication of a tradition of combination; (4) the use of *hllwyh* pss to indicate the conclusion of segments; (5) the use of *hwdw* pss to introduce segments; (6) the existence of thematic correspondences between the beginning and ending pss in some books. All of these findings demonstrate the presence of editorial activity at work in the arrangement of the pss.²⁰⁷

As regards his second objective, to identify the editorial agenda behind the Psalter's redaction, Wilson notes that royal psalms are found at a number of 'seams' in Books I to III (ie., Pss 2, 72, 89).²⁰⁸ He suggests these show 'an interesting progression in thought regarding kingship and the Davidic covenant.'²⁰⁹ On the basis of this perceived progression he suggests that the purpose of the Psalter is to address the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant in the light of the exile and diaspora. Book I represents the institution of the covenant with David (Ps 2). Book II represents its transmission to his descendants (Ps 72). Book III represents its failure (Ps 89).²¹⁰ Book IV, he suggests, is the editorial crux of the collection, responding to the failure of the covenant as represented in Ps 89. Its message is that Yhwh was Israel's king in the past and will be in the future, and that those who trust him are blessed.²¹¹ It ends with a plea for restoration from exile (106:47).²¹² Book V shows that this plea will be answered if the people trust in God alone (Ps 107), just as David did (Pss 108-110), by obedience to his law (Ps 119), and by recognizing him as the only king worthy of human trust.²¹³ Thus, for Wilson, the Psalter is a historical retrospective (Books I-III)

²⁰⁶ Wilson, *Editing*, 9-10, 182-97.

²⁰⁷ Wilson, *Editing*, 199.

²⁰⁸ Wilson, *Editing*, 209-14. He initially suggested that Ps 41 may also have been a royal psalm [*Editing*, 209-10]. But later appears to abandon the idea, suggesting that Books I and II form a unit and therefore no royal psalm is required at the end of Book I [s].

²⁰⁹ Wilson, *Editing*, 209.

²¹⁰ Wilson, *Editing*, 213.

²¹¹ Wilson, *Editing*, 214-15.

²¹² Wilson, *Editing*, 219.

²¹³ Wilson, *Editing*, 227-8

followed by an exhortation directing Israel's future hope to theocracy unmediated by a Davidic king. The redactor's narrative standpoint is somewhere in the middle of Book IV.

J. H. Walton, building to a considerable extent on Wilson, also seeks the editorial agenda behind the Psalter's arrangement, but bases his analysis more on psalm content than title or genre. He suggests the Psalter is a 'cantata' about the Davidic covenant.²¹⁴ Book I represents David's conflict with Saul; Book II represents David's reign, Book III represents the Assyrian crisis, Book IV is a post-exilic introspection on the destruction of the Temple and the exile; Book V is praise for the return of the exiles.²¹⁵ Thus, for Walton, the Psalter is a post-exilic retrospective of Israel's history. The redactor's narrative standpoint is somewhere after the close of Book V.

Others commentators have remarked on the broad structure of the Psalter in terms which are in keeping with these principles. T. Collins suggests the Psalter is an integrated system in which the final work 'has something to say quite independent of the intention of the authors of individual psalms, the collectors of groups of psalms or the editors of the psalter.'²¹⁶ He sees in it the story of every just person, progressing through trials to triumph, and even recognizes its distinct eschatological drift. However his scepticism about author and even redactor intent sets his work apart from the majority of contemporary commentators. W. Brueggemann notes the spiritual progression in the Psalter from simple obedience, through the trial of faith, to selfless praise. Ps 1 calls the believer to a life of obedience with rewards of blessing; Ps 73, the Psalter's theological centre, faces the crisis of belief when God's **יְהוָה** is thrown in doubt; Ps 150 represents faith's triumph, where God is praised not for his rewards, but for his being.²¹⁷

In recent years the revival of interest in the arrangement of the Psalms has produced an increasing volume of literature. M. E. Tate's commentary on Ps 51-100 deals in detail with issues of Psalms arrangement, noting overarching themes in the collection, and also inter-psalm links (1990). A. R. Ceresko (1990) has published a survey of the sage in the Psalms, noting three aspects: first, the Psalms represent the sage as one who observes Torah; second, the sages wrote several psalms; third, the formation of

²¹⁴ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 23.

²¹⁵ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 24.

²¹⁶ Collins, "Decoding," 41.

²¹⁷ Brueggemann, "Bounded by Obedience."

the Psalter itself is a product of wisdom circles. He deals with this last point at length, emphasizing that there was a deliberate authorial activity in the redaction process, which produced 'a unity intentionally greater than its parts.'²¹⁸ J. L. Mays notes that in the hermeneutical context of the Psalter several of the royal and Davidic psalms should be interpreted messianically (1991).²¹⁹ The 1992 issue of *Interpretation* is devoted to Psalms studies, and contains three essays, by Wilson, J. C. McCann, G. T. Sheppard, on the subject of editorial activity in the Psalter.²²⁰ A recent JSOT volume is devoted exclusively to the issue of the arrangement of the Psalms, and contains nine essays on the subject.²²¹ The first four, are by Mays, R. E. Murphy, Brueggemann, and Wilson, who agree, with various caveats, that contextual interpretation is a valuable discipline for understanding the Psalms.²²² The fifth essay is an update of D. M. Howard's review of the recent development of interest in editorial activity in the Psalter.²²³ Two more essays, by Wilson and McCann, deal with the larger shaping of the Psalter.²²⁴ And two more, by P. D. Miller and Howard, deal with lesser scale inter-psalm links.²²⁵ Other recent articles elsewhere comment on concatenation²²⁶ and messianism²²⁷ in the Psalter.

VIII. Summary.

Several facts emerge from the preceding investigation. First, the great majority of interpreters, historically speaking, endorse the MT-type arrangement of Psalms, either tacitly, by transmitting it, or explicitly, by explaining or defending it. As part of this, they recognize the rubrics, the headings and doxologies, as an intrinsic part of the text.

²¹⁸ Ceresko, "The Sage," 230.

²¹⁹ Mays, "In a Vision." He considers Pss 1-3, 18, 72, 89, 110, 132.

²²⁰ Wilson, "The Shape of the Book of Psalms"; McCann, "The Psalms as Instruction"; Sheppard, "Theology and the Book of Psalms."

²²¹ *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, (ed.) J. C. McCann.

²²² The essays are: Mays, "The Question of Context in Psalm Interpretation," 14-20; Murphy, "Reflections on Contextual Interpretation of the Psalms," 21-28; Brueggemann, "Response to James L. Mays, 'The Question of Context'," 29-41; Wilson, "Understanding the Purposeful Arrangement of Psalms in the Psalter: Pitfalls and Promise," 42-51.

²²³ Howard, "Editorial Activity in the Psalter: A State-of-the-Field Survey," 52-71. The earlier version of this article appeared in *Word and World* 9 (1989) 274-285.

²²⁴ Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms," 72-82; McCann, "Books I-III and the Editorial Purpose of the Hebrew Psalter," 93-107.

²²⁵ Miller, "The Beginning of the Psalter," 83-92; Howard, "A Contextual Reading of Psalms 90-94," 108-123.

²²⁶ Lohfink ["Der Psalter und die christliche Meditation"; "Die Bedeutung der Endredaktion"; "Psalmengebet und Psalterredaktion"] suggests one editorial purpose of concatenation was to facilitate memorisation. Vermeylen ["Une prière"] notes links between Pss 50 and 51.

²²⁷ Füglistner ["Die Verwendung"] points out that the Psalter was regarded as messianic prophecy in the time of Jesus. R. Mosis ["Die Mauern Jerusalems"] and H.-M. Wahl ["Psalm 67"] find eschatological implications in Pss 51 and 67 respectively.

The headings are regarded as having a bearing on interpretation, and the doxologies as indicating a fivefold 'book' division. Second, the great majority of interpreters, historically speaking, regard the Psalms as eschatological prophecy, interpreting them of Messiah, eschatological war, the ingathering of Israel, and so on. The great exception to the general dominance of these two views is the period c.1820-1970, during which time a number of influential commentators advanced views opposed to the traditional ones. They denied that any purposeful redaction lay behind the MT-type arrangement, and made it out to be essentially an *ad hoc* collection which had evolved piecemeal, either a Temple hymnbook or simply a collection of cultic remains. The headings and doxologies were thought to have been added sporadically to this already disordered collection at a later date, producing a finished product which was the result of evolutionary chance rather than purposeful redaction. The possibility of intentionally eschatological prophecy existing in the collection was tacitly denied by general silence on the subject. Or, when it was mentioned, it was to dismiss it on the ground that eschatological belief was a late development. These views dominated the consensus of scholarly opinion for a century and a half, despite notable voices of dissent.

Such views continue to the present time. However, in the last two decades, some commentators, operating on the hermeneutical basis of redactor intention, have returned to views similar to the ancient one. They recognize purposeful redaction in the finished form of the MT Psalter, and the significance of the headings and doxologies as intrinsic structural markers. Some recognize intentional eschatology in the collection, either in particular psalms, or in the redactional agenda which lies behind the finished Psalter, or both. A few have tried to suggest what the details of its message might be, yet no consensus appears to have been reached in this matter.

Thus a historical perspective at the end of the twentieth century seems to suggest that the period from c.1820-1970 is, in some respects, a hiatus in Psalms interpretation, during which scholarly opinion diverged sharply from what must be considered, historically speaking, the dominant norms. These traditional norms are worthy of consideration, for several reasons. First, they are extremely ancient, occurring already in LXX and the Dead Sea Scrolls. These interpreters lived soon enough after the Psalter's redaction to be in receipt of traditions regarding it. And even if they had no such traditions, still they lived in a time and culture closer than our own to the final redaction, and might be expected to understand better than us what ideas influenced the minds which composed the collection. Second, these interpretational norms

persisted virtually unchallenged until the nineteenth century. It is the vanity of every age to think that the views of our own culture and period are better informed than those of every other, and that 'knowledge will die with us'. But the sheer historical consensus of opinion behind the traditional views should make us stop to consider if there were not solid grounds for these beliefs, and that we might not have something to learn from those who did not share the ideological presuppositions of post-Enlightenment thought. In the following chapter we shall therefore examine what internal evidence, if any, exists for viewing the Psalter as a purposeful arrangement with an eschatological orientation.

II. The Psalter as a Prophetic Book.

We must now review the various positions encountered in the foregoing section and judge how far they are justified. The issues of purposeful arrangement, eschatological prophecy, and headings shall again be treated separately.

I. The Arrangement of the Psalter.

1. Does Ps 72:20 necessarily indicate a process of accretion?

From c. 1800-1970 the dominant view was that the Psalter came into being by a process of gradual accretion, rather than purposeful redaction. The principal piece of evidence for this was the fact that the end of Book II (Ps 72:20) bears the legend *כלו תפלות דוד בן-ישי*, yet other Davidic psalms appear thereafter. This was assumed to be evidence that this statement had once marked the end of an earlier Davidic collection, and that subsequent sections of the Psalter featuring Davidic psalms were later additions.

The first thing that should be noted about this view is that it is a relative newcomer on the scene, not occurring, as far as I am aware, before the nineteenth century. This is surprising, for both Jewish and Christian commentators were aware that the Psalter was redacted from diverse sources.¹ They were also aware of the subscript to Ps 72 and gave a number of opinions on it, but the idea that it marked the end of an earlier collection was not one of them. Presumably they assumed the redactor would not have left vestigial remains of earlier collections in the midst of his composition. Kimhi interprets it as a comment on the messianic *malikut* depicted in Ps 72.

And if it is [interpreted] concerning the King Messiah, Ibn Ezra interprets it as follows. When all these consolations will be completed, then *Fulfilled are the prayers of David ben Jesse*. It does not say 'Fulfilled are the songs' or 'Fulfilled are the hymns,' but *Fulfilled are the prayers of David*, in relation to atonement and deliverance. For when everything is completed, that Israel go forth from the exile and are in their land, and the King Messiah ben David rules over them, nothing will be lacking, neither atonement, nor deliverance, nor prosperity, for everything will be theirs. And then *Fulfilled are the prayers of David ben Jesse*.²

¹ 2 Macc 2:13 states that Nehemiah collected the writings of David. BB 14b-15a states the Psalms were written by ten men and collected by David. SongR 4.19 says Ezra participated in writing it. The idea that Ezra collected and redacted the Psalms was known among patristic writers, including Athanasius and Hippolytus, whose views on the matter are noted above [cf. the earlier section of this chapter, 'Patristic Literature'].

² Kimhi, Commentary on Ps 72:20.

The same interpretation is noted also by Rashi and, as Kimhi says, Ibn Ezra.³ Rashi proffers another opinion of his own, that the subscript indicates that Ps 72 was the last of David's psalms, written when he nominated Solomon his successor. The view of MidTeh 72.6 seems at first sight to be quite different again.

Fulfilled are the prayers of David ben Jesse. And are not the remaining prayers also prayers of David ben Jesse? *Kalu*, however is to be read *kol 'ellu*. And hence the verse means that all of these [*kol 'ellu*] were the prayers David uttered concerning his son Solomon and concerning the King Messiah.

Rashi takes this as indicating that all the psalms are by David, and disagrees, noting that other psalms were composed by different individuals. But it is possible that the *kol 'ellu* of the midrash refers only to the Davidic psalms. If so, the basis, at least, of this saying, may be not unlike Kimhi's view, in emphasizing that the psalms are David's prayers for the Messiah. Christian commentators have held similar views. Calvin, midway between Rashi and Kimhi, suggests the phrase shows that this psalm records the last of David's prayers, made shortly before his death, concerning Solomon and the messianic kingdom.⁴ Forbes, possibly aware of rabbinic tradition, gives a view similar to Kimhi's.

The obvious meaning of these words, in the position they hold, is that David's highest aspirations — what formed "all his salvation and all his desire" (2 Sam. xxiii.5) — will be answered when the consummation, anticipated in the immediately preceding Psalm, arrives. This necessitates us to regard Ps. lxxii. as *primarily*, in the idea of the author, a prayer for the coming of that perfect kingdom of "righteousness and peace," the expectation of which had been awakened by the promises made by God to David, with the tacitly implied petition, no doubt secondarily, that Solomon's reign (whether the Psalm was written *by* him or *for* him) might, in its imperfect measure foreshadow it.⁵

Hengstenberg suggested that Ps 72:20 'must have been designed to separate the free and the bound, the scattered and the serial Psalms of David,' as Job 31:40 separates the first formal collection of Job's speeches from his latter ones in chapters 40 and 42.⁶ This variety of views about Ps 72:20 suggests that the conclusion that it marked the end of an earlier collection is not as inevitable as many recent commentators have imagined. Viable alternative explanations exist, some of which suppose a messianic interpretation of the psalm.

The final objection to the idea of Ps 72:20 marking the end of an earlier collection is that none of the proffered scenarios of the redaction process can be reconciled with the

³ Ibn Ezra, Commentary on Ps 72:20; Rashi, Commentary on Ps 72:20.

⁴ Calvin, Foreword to commentary on Ps 72 [J. Anderson's translation, III:99].

⁵ Forbes, *Studies on the Book of Psalms*, 6.

⁶ Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, li.

evidence. The prevailing view in the early nineteenth century was that Pss 1-72 had formed the initial collection and that the remainder of the Psalter was added subsequently. But in time commentators became aware of the glaring fact of the Elohist Psalter (Pss 42-83), which had apparently gone hitherto virtually unnoticed. In these psalms the divine name *elohim* predominates, in contrast to the rest of the Psalms, in which *Yhwh* predominates.⁷ This marks out Pss 42-83 as a literary unit in their own right. Therefore Pss 1-72, as they now stand, could not have formed an initial collection, for the supposedly closural subscript to Ps 72 falls in the midst of the Elohist Psalter.

2. Evidence for the redaction process in the Elohist Psalter.

Other theories were formulated. These regarded the Elohist Psalter (EP) as the initial collection. The subscript to Ps 72 marked the end only of the לְדָוִד psalms within that collection, and it was these psalms which 72:20 referred to as 'the prayers of David.'⁸ Other parts of the Psalter, an extensive preface (Pss 1-41), the EP's Yhwhistic coda (Pss 84-89), and Books IV and V (Pss 90-150), were added by later redactors. Doxologies marking the book divisions were added later still. However this hypothesis is also fraught with difficulties. The first is the question of why *elohim* predominates in Pss 42-83 at all. Some suggest that an Elohist redactor took originally Yhwhistic lyrics and changed them.⁹ In support of this they point to locutions such as *God, my God* (43:4); *God, your God* (45:8[7]; 50:7); *God, our God* (67:7 [6]). In all of these the double *elohim* appears awkward, and a phrase like *Yhwh your God* would seem more natural. Moreover parallel passages to these elsewhere in the Psalter and the Bible feature *Yhwh*.¹⁰ The motive for this recension, it is suggested, may have been reverence for the tetragrammaton, a feature of late Second Temple times. As Craigie notes, 'Later in the history of Judaism, it was not used at all during normal worship and could only be pronounced by the high priest at a key moment in the observance of the Day of Atonement.'¹¹

⁷ The Elohist Psalter (Pss 42-83) is distinguished by the preponderance of the term *elohim*, which occurs 210 times in the absolute state, whereas *Yhwh* occurs only 44 times. This contrasts with the rest of the Psalter in which *Yhwh* predominates. In Pss 1-41 *Yhwh* occurs 278 times and *elohim* 15 in absolute form; in Pss 42-83 *Yhwh* occurs 31 times and *elohim* 7 in absolute form; and in Pss 84-150 *Yhwh* occurs 339 times and *elohim* 6 in absolute form, discounting references to foreign gods [Figures from Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, lv.].

⁸ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 447; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 424; Kraus, *Psalms*, I:18-20; Kissane, *Psalms*, x.

⁹ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 447-51; Kraus, *Psalms*, 17-18; Day, *Psalms*, 113-4; Craigie, *Psalms*, 29-30.

¹⁰ *Yhwh* in Ps 14:2,4,7 becomes *elohim* in Ps 53:3,5,7 [2,4,6]; likewise in Ps 40:14a,17 [13a-16] and Ps 70:2a,5 [1a,4]. Cf. also Ps 68:2,8,9 [1,7,8] with Num 10:35 and Judg 5:4,5; and theophanic Ps 50:7 with Ex 20:2.

¹¹ Craigie, *Psalms*, 29-30.

But the whole idea of an elohistic redactor is not that simple. The EP was redacted before reverence for the tetragrammaton was widespread, as the Psalter itself shows. For, if the elohistic redactor changed *Yhwh* out of tetragrammaton reverence, then presumably he did not get his hands on the Yhwhistic collections that flank the EP, otherwise they too would have undergone *elohim*-redaction. Therefore the EP and the Yhwhistic collections existed independently before their collation by a later redactor. This later redactor did not himself share the views of the elohistic redactor or else he would have *elohim*-redacted the entire Psalter. Therefore, if the later redactor had such views, then the tetragrammaton was still in common use when the entire Psalter was redacted, which was obviously after the EP's redaction. Moreover, it was probably in common use earlier still, when Book V was redacted, as Ps 108 demonstrates. Compounded of Ps 57:8-12[7-11] and 60:7-14[5-12], it contains six of the seven occurrences of *elohim* in absolute form in Book V, which suggests it was compounded from Pss 57 and 60 in the form in which they occur in the EP. In that case, Book V is later than the EP, though probably earlier than the final redaction of the Psalter. Yet it uses the tetragrammaton freely throughout.

It might be concluded then that the elohistic redactor came from a minority group of proto-tetragrammaton-reverencers. But even that is unlikely, for further evidence suggests that the redactor himself did not suffer consistently from tetragrammaton-reverence. He allowed 44 occurrences of *Yhwh* to exist in the EP, and, when reproducing Ps 40:14-18[13-17] in Ps 70:2-6[1-5], he not only changed *Yhwh* to *elohim* twice (40:14a,17 [13a,16]; 70:2a,5 [1a,4]), but left it unchanged once (40:14[13]; 70:6[5]), and even changed *elohim* to *Yhwh* (40:18[17]; 70:6[5])! He also changes the inoffensive *adonai* (אֲדֹנָי) to *elohim* on one occasion (40:18[17]; 70:6[5]). The mystery deepens when the EP is viewed in relation to the literary structure of Books II and III (Pss 42-89). It can be seen that the Korah and Asaph Psalms form a chiasmic inclusio round the central David collection.

A: Korah Pss 42-49.		<i>Elohistic Psalter.</i>
B: Asaph Ps 50.		
C: David Pss 51-65, 68-70.		
B': Asaph Pss 73-83.		
A': Korah Pss 84-5, 87, 88, [89].		

It appears from this that the real literary unit is Pss 42-89, and not Pss 42-83, which would form an incomplete chiasm in themselves. The book divisions confirm this. Whoever inserted them regarded Ps 42 as a beginning and Ps 89, not 83, as an end.

This suggests that Pss 84-89 are not a later addition to the EP, but part of a single literary unit with it from their first redaction. So it seems that the elohistic redactor added a Yhwhistic conclusion to his collection. Nor is this surprising, given his occasional use of *Yhwh* in Pss 42-83. Such apparently deliberate use of *Yhwh* throughout Books II and III points to the conclusion that the EP's redactor was no mere knee-jerk elohist, but a literary craftsman who employed different divine appellations for different literary or theological purposes. His activity appears purposeful, even if his purpose is elusive. Therefore the complex phenomenon of the EP is more readily explicable in terms of deliberate literary activity, than in terms of simple prejudice for certain divine appellations. It follows that the same hand that employed different divine titles for different purposes in Pss 42-89 was capable of redacting other parts of the Psalter, using other divine names for other purposes. Thus there really is no sharp dividing line between the EP and the rest of the Psalter, and so the case for the precedence of the EP, and the redaction hypothesis dependent on it, is undermined.

A further consideration of the literary structure of Books II and III stirs up more problems with the EP-precedence hypothesis. There is the issue of the Asaph Psalms. Why are they arranged with Ps 50 standing alone, and the others in sequence (Pss 73-83)? Kraus answers: "Very likely this psalm [50] assumed its present place at or after the completion of the entire Psalter."¹² But he offers no explanation why this later redactor did not place Ps 50 together with the other Asaph Psalms. If an answer were to be given it would need to concede that this later redactor thought Ps 50 suited that place better for literary or theological reasons. Such reasons are not hard to find. There are substantial thematic and lexical links between Pss 50 and 51.¹³ But once it is admitted that a literary rationale lay behind this arrangement, such an impulse must be allowed for much else in the Psalter as well. And if that is the case, there is every likelihood that it was the redactor of the EP or of the entire Psalter who produced the distinctive format of the Asaph Psalms. The same sort of problem arises with Ps 86. Why did not the hand that added Pss 84-89 to the EP, whether the elohistic redactor or another, place this David psalm before the subscript at Ps 72:20? If these redactors are to be credited with any reason, we must conclude that they had reasons for wanting Ps 86 in that position, and that the subscript to Ps 72 was not understood as suggesting that no further David Psalms are to follow.

¹² Kraus, *Psalmen*, I:18.

¹³ See Vermeulen, "Une prière," 257-83.

So a careful examination of the structure of Books I-III shows that they are bound together in such a way as to appear the product of one process of literary composition. Books II and III, comprised of the EP with its Yhwhistic coda, form a chiasm that marks them as a literary unit. At the same time, Books I and II contain two large collections of **לדוד** psalms (Pss 3-41 and 51-71) which seem to have the effect of associating these two books together. These two overlapping psalm groups, the **לדוד** Psalms and the EP, seem to bind the first three books of psalms into one interlocking literary unit.

Book I	Book II	Book III
לדוד	לדוד	
	אלהים	אלהים

These three books also have in common those headings generally classed as musical directions, particularly **למנצח**, but also **על-ששנים**, **על-השמינית**, **בנגינות**, and others. Such headings are absent from Books IV and V. Thus Books I-III seem to display an essential unity, as some commentators recognize.¹⁴

3. Further internal evidence for purposeful arrangement.

The above evidence for purposeful arrangement is confirmed by the concurrence between the Psalter's major structural divisions and the content of the psalms found at these junctures. First of all, the Psalter begins, as many commentators note, with an introduction consisting of Pss 1 and 2.¹⁵ These two psalms display thematic and linguistic links which suggest they belong in some sense together.

Ps 1:1	אשרי	Ps 2:12	אשרי
Ps 1:2	תורה	Ps 2:7	חוק
Ps 1:2	יהגה	Ps 2:1	יהגו
Ps 1:6	דרך... תאבד	Ps 2:12	תאבדו דרך ¹⁶

¹⁴ Westermann, "Formation," 252; Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 73-74.

¹⁵ Hupfeld, *Psalmen*, 2-3; Hitzig, *Psalmen*, 1; Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888), 1; Willis, "Psalm 1 – An Entity," 381-401; Childs, *Introduction*, 511-16; Sheppard, *Wisdom*, 142; Reindl, *Bearbeitung*, 340; Brennan, "Psalms 1-8," 29; Auffret, "Complements . . . du Ps 2 et son rapport au Ps 1"; Mays, "In a Vision," 2-3; McCann, "Psalms as Instruction," 118-123; Miller, "The beginning of the Psalter," in McCann (ed.), *Shape and Shaping*, 83; Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 23-4. Wilson [*Editing*, 204-6; "Understanding the Purposeful Arrangement", 44, and "Shaping the Psalter," 75, 78, 80, in McCann (ed.), *Shape and Shaping*, 42-51; 72-82;] thinks Ps 1 is introductory to the Psalter, while Ps 2 is introductory to Book I. Others recognise that Ps 1 is introductory but reserve judgement on Ps 2: Calvin, Comm. on Ps 1; Barnes, *Psalm*, 1; Oesterley, *Psalm*, 119; Brueggemann, "Response to Mays," in McCann (ed.), *Shape and Shaping*, 37.

¹⁶ From Sarna, "Psalms, Book of," [1303-1322 in *EJ* 13:1303-1334] 1311.

Ancient texts confirm both the introductory function and the close relation of these two psalms. In LXX they stand apart from the rest of the Psalter by being the only untitled psalms. Some western manuscripts of Acts 13:33 refer to Ps 2 as the first psalm. The same idea may be reflected in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), which proffers a 'Midrash of *Happy is the man that walks not in the counsel of the wicked*' (Ps 1:1), follows with a brief *pešer*, and proceeds, without further introduction, to cite the opening lines of Ps 2 followed by their *pešer*.¹⁷ Talmudic sources attest that Ps 1 and 2 were often conjoined (Ber 9b-10a; yBer 4:3, 8a; yTa 2:2, 65c). The idea was known to Kimhi also.¹⁸ Such widespread recognition of the close links between these psalms suggests the resemblance is not fanciful, but real and deliberate. They were placed together, and possibly composed in part, to form an introduction to the entire Psalter, which is to be read in the light of them.

The Psalter also has a conclusion, the great acclamation of Pss 146-150. This is the only sequence of psalms in which each psalm features a double *Halleluyah*, one at the beginning and one at the end.¹⁹ The jubilant outburst conveyed by this feature surpasses anything else in the Psalter, possibly in the Bible. It appears too that, as Wilson suggests, this follows in response to the last words of the previous psalm (145:21): *My mouth will speak the praise of Yhwh, and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever*; and that this wish is fulfilled in Ps 150:6, when *everything that breathes* is exhorted to join in praise (150:6).²⁰ The force and success and literary design of this closural arrangement again argue for the Psalter's being carefully and purposefully redacted.

The book divisions, demarcated by doxologies, also show evidence of purposeful planning, by the way in which they concur with thematic and genre changes in the psalms. The first doxology (41:14[13]) separates the first David group, Pss 3-41, from the first Korah group, which follows it. There are also lexical links between Pss 1 and 41, which form an *inclusio* demarcating the boundaries of Book I.²¹

Ps 1:1	אשרי	Ps 41:2	אשרי
Ps 1:2	חפצו	Ps 41:12	חפצת
Ps 1:5	לא־יקמו	Ps 41:9	לא־יוסיף לקום
Ps 1:6	תאבד	Ps 41:6	אבד

¹⁷ 4Q174, col.1, lines 14-19. Text in *DJD* V:53-54.

¹⁸ Comm. on Ps 2:1. He notes that others hold this view, though he himself seems sceptical about it.

¹⁹ The same feature is shared by non-sequential Pss 113 and 135, and also by Ps 106, if we include the *Halleluyah* following the doxology at the end of book IV (106:48).

²⁰ Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 74, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 72-82.

²¹ Noted by Sarna, "Psalms, Book of," [1303-1322 in *EJ* 13:1303-1334] 1311.

The correspondence between royal psalms and strategic points of the Psalter was noted long ago by Forbes, and more recently has been central to Wilson's work.²² The second doxology (72:18-20) is preceded by the Solomonic royal psalm which stands between the end of the second David collection and the beginning of the Asaph group, Pss 73-83. The third doxology (89:52[53]) is preceded by royal Ps 89, which stands between the second Korah collection and Moses Pss 90-100.²³ The fourth doxology (106:48) marks a thematic rather than a structural or genre division. Ps 106 closes with a plea for ingathering from the nations, while Ps 107 opens with thanksgiving for the *fait accompli* (107:1-3). The doxologies therefore are not arbitrarily positioned. Rather they demarcate changes of psalm-group and theme within the arrangement of the Psalter. This suggests purposeful redaction.

The means by which the two halves of the Psalter, Books I to III and Books IV to V, are joined likewise suggests purposeful redaction. Ps 90 is the turning point of the collection.²⁴ As a lament psalm, it continues the tone of the preceding sequence of psalms. Its vision of Israel wandering in the desert under God's wrath seems a fitting sequel to Ps 89, which laments the negation of *bet-David*. On the other hand, it also relates to what comes after it. Modern commentators note its linguistic and thematic links to subsequent psalms, and ancient commentators regard Pss 90-100 as one group.²⁵ The Psalter's redactor may have had similar ideas, for the doxology placed after Ps 89 locks Ps 90 into context with its following psalms. Thus the two halves of the Psalter, which might otherwise seem disconnected, are neatly joined together by this 'Janus-faced' psalm, which, to mix metaphors, binds the whole into a seamless garment. The psalm's fitness to its context, suggests that the two major sections of the Psalter were conjoined with consummate and purposeful artistry, and are not simply the result of haphazard pairing.

²² Forbes, *Studies*, 4; Wilson, *Editing*, 207-8.

²³ The idea that Pss 90-100 are all to be subsumed under the *למשח* heading is ancient. It is mentioned by Origen [*Selecta in Psalmos*. Lommatzsch, xi. 352-54.], who received it from Jewish sources, and in MidTeh 90.3; 91.1. Wilson has noted connections with Exodus and Mosaic themes in 90-92, 94, 102, 105, 106 ["Shaping the Psalter," 75-6, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 72-82].

²⁴ This is noted by Westermann, "The Formation of the Psalter", in *Praise and Lament*, 257; Wilson, *Editing*, 214-15; Howard, "A Contextual Reading of Psalms 90-94", 109-10, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 108-123; Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 75-6, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 72-82; Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos* (Lommatzsch, *Origenes Opera*, xi. 352-54); Jerome, *Ep. 140 ad Cyprianum*; MidTeh 90.3.

²⁵ Howard, "A Contextual Reading of Psalms 90-94", 110-11, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 108-123;



The concurrence of book divisions and thematic content also suggests, of course, that the book divisions derive from the main redaction process which produced the final form of the Psalter, and are not a later and artificial addition, as some have maintained.²⁶ Other considerations confirm this. The first and fourth doxologies both contain *Blessed be Yhwh, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting*. This may be an inclusio tying the first and last doxologies together. In addition, the phrase אמן אמן occurs nowhere in MT except in the first three doxologies.²⁷ This invites comparison between them, and suggests they have a similar function. The objection that the fourth doxology has only a single אמן is lessened by its LXX form, where *γένοιτο γένοιτο* is identical to the preceding three doxologies. Whether this is an LXX alteration or whether MT has diverged from an earlier Hebrew *Vorlage* (possibly in order to parallel 1 Chr 16:36) is unclear. The similarity of MT, with its single *Amen*, to 1 Chr 16:36, its only other biblical parallel, may suggest LXX's double *Amen* is a later addition, to strengthen the fourth doxology's resemblance to the preceding three. But whichever way, it confirms that the four doxologies were already regarded as having a similar function before LXX times. The fact is that by the second century BCE the four doxologies had been given a form which deliberately equated them. This suggests they were regarded as having a similar function.

Finally, the phenomenon of concatenistic links between adjacent psalms, noted by many commentators ancient and modern,²⁸ provides evidence that the Psalter was carefully arranged on the small scale as well as the large. The redactor was apparently concerned to represent minor structures and themes in his collection, as well as major ones.

4. External evidence for purposeful arrangement.

In addition to these internal evidences, several other points suggest purposeful shaping.

(1) There was insufficient time for the extended redaction process which some commentators propose. Peters, for instance, suggests the fourth doxology was added by a later redactor, who wanted the same number of psalms in Book IV as in Book III, and so unwittingly divided the closely linked Pss 106 and 107.²⁹ However, the presence of post-exilic psalms suggests the main redaction took place after the exile;

²⁶ Kraus, *Psalms*, I:17; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, xviii; Peters, *Psalms as Liturgies*, 5; Gese, "Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung des Psalters," *Vom Sinai zum Zion*, 159-167.

²⁷ It occurs without ו-connective at Num 5:22 and Neh 8:6.

²⁸ This is discussed in the preceding chapter.

²⁹ Peters, *Psalms as Liturgies*, 5.

and LXX shows that it was already widely-known, and in some sense authoritative, at least for the Alexandrian synagogues, by the early second century BCE.³⁰ It is unlikely that, within such a relatively short time, later redactors could have become so ignorant of the principles and procedure of their predecessors as to accidentally split psalms that even we recognize as related.

(2) Other ancient near eastern collections of hymnic and liturgical material bear evidence of purposeful arrangement. Wilson's investigation of the Sumerian Temple Hymns Collection and Catalogues of Hymnic Incipits demonstrates the existence of definite editorial techniques in these collections. Some of these techniques are identical to those in the Psalter. One collection of Sumerian temple hymns ends with a concluding doxological hymn; a collection from Abu Salabikh contains 68 compositions, each concluding with a doxology.³¹ This suggests that doxologies were regarded as having a closural function in much ancient Near Eastern literature, and supports Wilson's regarding them as closural in the Psalter. His investigation of the Qumran psalms manuscripts leads to a similar conclusion. The similarity in cultural milieu of these texts and the Psalter suggests it is reasonable to expect that the latter should have been purposefully redacted.

5. Summary.

There are a number of inconsistencies with traditional attempts to explain the form of the Psalter as the result of a process of piecemeal evolution. Ps 72:20 does not necessarily indicate the existence of an earlier Davidic collection, as some have maintained. Books I to III seem to be designed as a consistent whole. So too, to a lesser extent, do Books IV and V. And while certain factors may suggest that these two groups developed independently, clearly their final joining, by means of Ps 90, was purposefully done. Moreover, there is positive evidence for purposeful redaction. Internally, there is the chiasmic structure of the psalm-groups of Books II and III, the concurrence of psalm content with the structural boundaries of the collection, and concatenation. Externally, there is the relatively short timescale of the redaction, which would not allow for a great diversity of redactional agendas, and there is the evidence of purposeful arrangement in other psalmic collections from the ancient Near East. We are not suggesting that the Psalter fell from the sky. It was redacted, apparently from earlier collections of lyrics. Nor are we suggesting that there were not

³⁰ The dating of the LXX Psalter is discussed in Chapter I, § 1.

³¹ Wilson, "The Shape of the Book of Psalms", *Int* 46:130-31. His texts are from A. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns*, (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 3; Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1960); R. D. Briggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh* (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 99; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974) 45-56.

earlier partial redactions. There probably were. But its final form appears to be the result not of chance but design, resulting from the single redactional impulse of a literary craftsman or craftsmen. Moreover, certain factors, such as the use of divine names in Books II and III, suggest there was a conscious purpose behind the redaction. What that purpose was is our next topic of investigation.

II. Current Theories on the Redactional Agenda behind the Psalter.

Some modern scholars who recognize the Psalter's purposeful arrangement have attempted to define its message. The most influential of these is Wilson. Much must be said in praise of his work. More than any other he has demonstrated the case for the Psalter's purposeful redaction, emphasizing the structural importance of different headings and psalm-types, and showing that the fivefold book division is intrinsic to its composition. He has also made important observations about redactional agenda, recognizing the centrality of Davidic kingship and covenant, and the fact that Ps 89 seems to indicate its cessation. However his conclusion, that the Psalter's purpose is to address the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant in the light of the exile and its aftermath, and that Yhwh will be Israel's king in future, as in the premonarchic past,³² does not quite fit all the facts.

First, Wilson suggests that Books IV and V represent the message that God will be Israel's king now that the 'Davidic covenant introduced in Ps 2 has come to nothing.'³³ But if that is so, why does the name of David appear in sixteen headings and several psalms in Books IV and V. (For Wilson himself suggests that the לְדָוִד psalms describe the fortunes of David.) His answer seems to be that David is set up as a model of the wise man who trusts in Yhwh, and so points the way for Israel's future obedience.³⁴ But this seems an insufficient explanation for the intensity of the Davidic material in Books IV and V. Can Ps 110, for instance, be regarded merely as pointing to David as a paradigm of trust in Yhwh's ability to protect from detractors?³⁵ Yhwh does indeed appear to be king in Book IV, as Wilson suggests, but it seems that, by Book V, David is unmistakably back on the throne. Pss 110, 132, and 144 depict a Davidic king. Moreover, if the house of David has come to nothing at the end of Book III, why do these later Davidic psalms represent him not conquered, but conquering. Is it all simply paradigmatic for Israel's trust in Yhwh? If the לְדָוִד ascription has the

³² Wilson, *Editing*, 213-14.

³³ Wilson, *Editing*, 213.

³⁴ Wilson, *Editing*, 221; cf, also 217-8.

³⁵ Wilson, *Editing*, 221.

same significance in Books IV to V as Wilson reckons it has in Books I-III – and he does not state otherwise – then David is forgiven, healed, redeemed, and rejuvenated (103:3-5). He wakens the dawn with praise, and receives a divine oracle promising success in battle (108). He curses his enemy (109). He will rule from Zion, crushing the head of the wide earth, and filling it with corpses (110). The name of Solomon is associated with the building of a 'house' (Ps 127:1). The old Davidic and Zion theology is reasserted in the strongest terms (122; 125; 128:5-6; 132:11-18). David is rescued from the sword and sings a new song to God (144:9-10). The David of Books IV and V may not be doing as badly as Wilson suggests.

Second, if the purpose of the Psalter is to encourage Israel to trust in God alone in future, as Wilson suggests, then why do passages in Books I to III emphasize God's failure to keep his covenant promises? This is done explicitly, as in the following passage.

*I will not defile my covenant, and the utterance of my lips I will not revise.
Once I have sworn by my holiness, 'If I should lie to David!'
His seed will be forever, and his throne like the sun before me;
Like the moon established forever, and the faithful witness in the sky. Selah.
But you yourself have rejected and spurned;
your wrath has overflowed against your mashiah. (Ps 89:35-39 [34-38]).*

A similar effect is achieved by the juxtaposition of the Davidic covenant language at the end of Ps 78 and the harsh denial of Zion theology in Ps 79.³⁶ The same thing is implied throughout Books II and III by restating Davidic and Zion theology (Pss 46, 48, 76, 84, 87) in the context of their impending destruction at Ps 89. Moreover, the end of Book III seems full of hopes for a new beginning. Ps 82:8 calls on God to judge the earth. Ps 83 shows the judgment imminent and implies the coming victory (10-19[9-18]). Ps 84 speaks of the blessedness of Zion, and requests God's favour on his *mashiah*. Ps 85 promises the restoration of the land. Ps 87 celebrates Zion. And then follows the horror of Pss 88 and 89. The answer of McCann, who espouses Wilson's hypothesis, is that by this mixture of hope and lament 'Books I-III address the problem of exile and dispersion with the affirmation that hope is still possible.'³⁷ But what kind of hope is this? For if the house of David 'has come to nothing', then the divine promises are worthless. Yet the redactor seems deliberately to emphasize their failure, and God's falsehood, in vividly representing the disappointment of their hopes. Is it for this celebration of divine disloyalty and incompetence that jubilant

³⁶ This is pointed out by McCann, "Books I-III," 99, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 93-107.

³⁷ McCann, "Books I-III," 105, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 93-107.

halleluyahs close the Psalter? Such an approach would hardly encourage future trust in God alone, as Wilson suggests.

Third, Wilson's theory does not accord with what is known of Israel's attitude to *bet* David at any time when the Psalter might have been redacted. When did Israel say, as Wilson would have it said in the Psalter, that the Davidic house is simply finished and they must trust in Yhwh alone as in premonarchic times? I am not aware of this idea anywhere in literature of the period. On the contrary, although *bet*-David was eclipsed before Alexander, there was a continuing expectation, throughout Second Temple times and beyond, that it would be restored at the coming of David's son.³⁸ Thus there does not seem to be any period when the redactional agenda suggested by Wilson might have existed. Of course, one may posit the existence of a small school of heterodox belief, who disowned any hope in the restoration of the house of David. But it is hard to imagine how such a group could produce a Psalms arrangement which came to be so widely accepted in Israel that, in its LXX form, it was already the standard for synagogue worship as far away as Alexandria in 200 BCE. Wilson himself seems to favour a late date for the final redaction and maintains, following Sanders, that the Qumran Psalms manuscripts show that Books IV and V were still in a state of flux in 50 CE. But the final redaction would have to have been much later still, somewhere after Bar Kokhba, when Israel's messianic expectations were so greatly disappointed, for the Psalter to reflect a belief that *bet* David was finally finished. All such late datings are controverted by LXX, which shows an MT-type Psalter was widely accepted in 200 BCE.

J. H. Walton's work has the strength that, unlike Wilson, he emphasizes the content of particular lyrics in relation to his suggested schema. However he overcorrects, for he virtually disregards the headings, stating 'there may be little correlation between the Psalm titles, which convey information about an earlier *Sitz im Leben*, and the incidents to which the Psalms are applied in their cantata context.'³⁹ Such an approach allows Walton to make very tenuous links between psalm and event. For instance, Korah Ps 44 'almost certainly' reflects the victory of the Philistines over the Israelites at the battle of Mount Gilboa, and 'Psalms 23 and 24 . . . could very easily reflect a correlation to the incident with Nabal and Abigail reported in 1 Sam 25.'⁴⁰ A major

³⁸ Jer 33:12-26; Ezk 37:24ff; Zech 12:7ff; TSim 7; TJud 24:1-6; TNap 5:1-3; 8:2-3; PssSol 17; 4QPBless 3; 4Q285.7.3-4; Mt 1:1-17; 22:41-42; Mk 12:35-36; Lk 1:32-33; 20:41-44; Rev 22:16.

³⁹ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 24.

⁴⁰ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 25-26.

weakness of Walton's hypothesis which derives from this approach is his interpretation of Book III. Details such as the mention of Assyria and the rejection of Ephraim (Pss 83:9[8]; 78:67), lead him to state that Book III refers to the Assyrian crisis.⁴¹ He reckons that Ps 83 represents the Assyrian threat, Pss 84-87 represent the southern kingdom's escape from the destruction in the north, Ps 88 represents Hezekiah's illness, and Ps 89 the 'imminent rejection' implied in Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem.⁴² Walton admits that this 'leaves some gaps' between Sennacherib's invasion and Book IV, which he reckons to represent exilic times.⁴³ It does indeed. It would be a poor redactor, compiling a retrospective of Israel's history, who would omit more than a century of momentous events, including the Babylonian destruction and the fall of the house of David, whose establishment was his particular theme, according to Walton, throughout Books I and II. Finally, Walton offers no explanation for the Davidic psalms in Book V, although their presence is an embarrassment to his theory, as much as to Wilson's.

Neither of these current attempts to identify the agenda behind the Psalter's redaction can be judged entirely successful. But it is notable that they have in common a largely historical orientation. The narrative standpoint of Wilson's redactor is somewhere in Book IV, everything before being historical review, and Book V offering only encouragement to future trust. The narrative standpoint of Walton's redactor is after Book V, for to him the entire Psalter is historical review. No current theory develops the idea that an *eschatological* agenda lay behind the final redaction. This is surprising, for ancient interpretation of the Psalms might suggest an eschatological agenda in the redaction. Moreover, several more recent commentators, not least Wilson's own teacher, Childs, have suggested as much, although none but Forbes attempts to work out the details in the Psalter's arrangement.⁴⁴ Now clearly, if an eschatological agenda were behind the Psalter's redaction, any attempt at understanding which failed to take account of this would be unlikely to succeed. Yet I am not aware of any statements among the historicist theories explaining why they have sought a historical rather than an eschatological agenda. In Wilson's case, certainly, it cannot be simply a belief in the late development of eschatology, for he would date the final redaction of the MT Psalter in the Christian period. But whatever the reasons we must briefly consider the plausibility of there being an eschatological

⁴¹ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 27.

⁴² Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 27-28.

⁴³ Walton, "Psalms: A Cantata," 28.

⁴⁴ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 88-95; Forbes, *Studies*, 3; Childs, *Introduction*, 511-518; Brennan, "Psalms 1-8," 29.

agenda behind the Psalter's redaction, which leads to an eschatological orientation in the finished book.

III. An Eschatological Orientation in the Psalter.

A number of points may suggest that the final form of the Psalter was redacted in accord with an eschatological agenda. First, it originated within an eschatological milieu. The period of its redaction was apparently sometime between the end of the Babylonian exile, as the post-exilic psalms attest, and the translation of the LXX. During this period, biblical literature turns its future hope increasingly toward an eschatological consummation independent of political and historical processes. As Hanson notes,

. . . the stubborn insistence of the classical prophets in translating their vision of Yahweh's acts into the terms of politics and plain history was increasingly abandoned by the visionaries of the post-exilic period. The divine act stands in a much looser relation to historical processes.⁴⁵

Thus Ezekiel and Zechariah both anticipate a coming golden age of prosperity and dominion for Israel, ruled by a Davidic king.⁴⁶ Most modern commentators would date the final form of these books in the earlier rather than later post-exilic period.⁴⁷ The discovery at Qumran of portions of 1 Enoch 1-36 and 72-82 on manuscripts dating from the third century BCE further suggests that apocalyptic literature with eschatological themes existed in the early post-exilic period.⁴⁸ Such ideas continued throughout Second Temple Times. Tobit ends with prediction of future events, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Sybilline Oracles, and much of the Qumran literature have a predominantly eschatological message.⁴⁹ It therefore seems fair to regard the post-exilic period as a time of growing eschatological hope. This

⁴⁵ Hanson, *Dawn*, 291.

⁴⁶ Eschatological prophecies from Ezekiel, Zech 9-14, and other biblical prophetic books will be discussed in chapter V.

⁴⁷ Wevers considers that Ezekiel was redacted into substantially its present form before the end of the sixth century [*Ezekiel*, 29]. Greenberg suggests 'the dates of the book are in line with the contents of its oracles' [*Ezekiel 1-20*, 17]. Kirkpatrick comments, 'The Book of Ezekiel . . . comes to us in all probability direct from the prophet himself. He speaks throughout in the first person' [*The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 336]. As regards Zechariah, Smith [*Micah-Malachi*, 170] and Stuhlmüller [*Haggai & Zechariah*, 117] think Zech 9-14 originated at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BCE. Person believes it originated in the Persian period [*Second Zechariah*, 205]. Lamarche considers that it may have been written anytime between 500 and 200 BCE [*Zacharie IX-XIV*, 22-23]. Such views are in contrast, of course, to the dominant views of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Duhm, for instance, in *Theologie der Propheten* (1875), attributed passages such as Isa 7 and 11 to the time of Alexander Jannaeus [*Das Buch Jesaja*, 75, 82].

⁴⁸ Milik, *Enoch*, 7-11.

⁴⁹ Eschatological literature from these collections will be discussed in chapter VII.

hope continued undiminished throughout Second Temple times. As this was the context in which the Psalter was redacted, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that its redactor shared the eschatological concerns of his contemporaries and that an eschatological agenda underlies his work, as it did theirs.

Second, the figures to whom the Psalms are attributed were regarded as eschatological prophets even in biblical times. David is represented in 2 Sam 23:2-4 uttering messianic prophecy.

*Oracle of David ben Jesse, and oracle of the hero raised on high,
Mashiah of the God of Jacob, and singer of the sweet songs of Israel.
The Spirit of Yhwh spoke by me, and his word upon my tongue.
The God of Israel spoke; to me said the Rock of Israel:
'A ruler of mankind, a righteous one, a ruler in the fear of God,
Like the light of morning at sunrise, a morning cloudless,
From the brightness after the rain, grass from the earth.'*⁵⁰

Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman are designated 'seers' (2 Chr 29:30; 35:15; 1 Chr 25:5). The term (חֲזִוִּי) signifies one who beholds visions, and was used in biblical times to denote one who foreknew future events (1 Sam 9:15-17). Moses too was regarded as a prophet with predictive powers (Dt 18:15; 31:19-22; 34:10). Since David, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and Moses were regarded in this way, it is not unreasonable to suspect that psalms bearing their names would be considered future-predictive.⁵¹ And since such psalms constitute almost two-thirds of the Psalter, they might be expected to lend an eschatological aura to the whole. The fact that some of these psalms appear to refer only to historical events need not contradict this. The essence of Israel's view of prophecy was that historic events prefigure future ones. In later times this became a fixed hermeneutical idea:

⁵⁰ The messianic significance of this text is demonstrated well by Delitzsch [*Weissagungen*, 67-68n]: 'Die Erklärung: Wenn einer über die Menschen herrscht in Gottesfurcht, so ists gleichwie u.s.w. (so daß das Gesagte ein dem David vorgehaltenes Musterbild ist, wie es von Raschi u.a. gefaßt wird), hat syntaktisch dies gegen sich, daß v.4 (mit וְכֹאֵר beginning) sich nicht als Nachsatz eines Bedingungssatzes kennzeichnet. Alles von 3b-4 ist complexes Subjekt, ein von Gott David vor Augen gestelltes Zukunftsbild, zu welchem ein Futurum (ein solcher wird erstehen und es wird sein wie u.s.w.) sich hinzudenkt. Sonderbarer Weise verteilt das Targum die benennungen 3b auf Gott und den Künftigen: „Der über die Menschenkinder herrscht als rechter Richter, hat gesagt (verheißen) mir einen König zu setzen, den Messias, welcher dereinst erstehen und herrschen wird in der Furcht des HErm.“ [sic.]

⁵¹ לְדָוִד and other personal ascriptions in psalm headings were probably regarded as indicating authorship in early Second Temple times, as they were later in the Dead Sea Scrolls and NT. The headings of Pss 7, 18, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63 explicitly claim Davidic authorship. The connection with the name of the prophetic figure would be sufficient to give a psalm prophetic status, even if authorship was not inferred from all such headings.

That which has been is that which shall be (Eccl 1:9). . . . R. Berekiah said in the name of R. Isaac: As the first redeemer was, so shall the latter redeemer be. What is stated of the former redeemer? *And Moses took his wife and his sons, and set them upon an ass* (Ex 4:20). Similarly will it be with the latter redeemer, as it is said, *Lowly and riding upon an ass* (Zech 9:9). As the former redeemer caused manna to descend, as it is said, *Behold I will cause to rain bread from heaven for you* (Ex 16:4), so will the latter redeemer cause manna to descend, as it is said, *May he be as a rich cornfield in the land* (Ps 72:16). As the former redeemer made a well to rise, so will the latter redeemer bring up water, as it is said, *And a fountain shall come forth out of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim* (Joel 4:18).

A similar idea occurs at MidTeh 118.12.

All nations compassed me about; but in the name of Yhwh will I cut them off (Ps 118:10). Gog and Magog will come three times against Israel and ascend three times against Jerusalem, even as Sennacherib ascended three times against the land of Israel, and as Nebuchadnezzar ascended three times against Jerusalem.

It is with such a hermeneutic that Kimhi, for instance, interprets historical Ps 52 messianically, by considering David's adversities as typological of Messiah's.

Third, certain psalms seem intrinsically messianic or eschatological. Among these might be included Pss 2, 21, 45, 51, 67, 72, 82, 83, 93, 97 and 110.⁵² The eschatological content of most of these will be discussed more fully in later chapters. But for now we note that what marks them as intentionally eschatological is that they describe a person or event in such ultimate terms as to be quite inapplicable to a historical king or battle or whatever. Thus Pss 2, 72 and 110 anticipate the worldwide conquest and rule of Israel's king. Pss 21 and 72 accord the king endless life. Ps 45 envisages his extensive conquest and addresses him as *elohim* (vv.6-7 [5-6]).⁵³ Ps 47 refers to the God's *malkut* and the homage of the nations. Pss 82 and 83 describe the judgment of the angels of the nations and their corresponding peoples, followed by ultimate war and the inauguration of God's *malkut*. Ps 98 celebrates God's coming judgment and Israel's vindication. Other examples might be given. It may be objected that such language does not indicate intentional messianism or eschatology, but is merely hyperbolic language employed in praise of historical people or events.⁵⁴ But

⁵² On Ps 51 see Mosis, "Die Mauern Jerusalems", 201-15; on Ps 67 see Wahl, "Ps 67", 240-247; on Ps 93 see Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 410-412; Welch, *Psalter*, 31-36; on Ps 97 see Welch, *Psalter*, 36ff. The case for intentional eschatology in Pss 82 and 83 is discussed in the following chapter, and for Pss 45, 72, and 110 in Chapter VIII.

⁵³ Other renderings of this have been attempted. But, as even its opponents admit, the vocative 'appears to be the obvious translation' [Cohen, *Psalms*, 141]. It is supported by LXX.

⁵⁴ This is the view of Mowinckel, for instance, for whom "these psalms refer not to a future king, the 'Messiah', but to the reigning king, who is a contemporary of the poet" [*PIW*, I:48]. However, he admits that, "The kernel of truth in the Messianic interpretation is, . . . that it is ultimately the same common oriental mythologically conceived superhuman king-ideal, which underlies both the psalm-

this begs the question. If the psalmist describes a king, historical or otherwise, as a cosmic superhero, then such a figure must have been part of his culture's intellectual furniture. And if a psalm depicts ultimate war followed by God's *malkut*, then that idea must have been current at the time of writing. So there is a discrepancy between the object described and the language employed. The reason for this may have been flattery. Yet it was in divine-king imagery that the bard flattered his lord, recording for all time the early Israelite conception of the superhero who was later called Yhwh's *mashiah*. Or perhaps it was more hope than flattery. It may have been the bard's addressing his lord in his messianic office, hoping, with all Israel, that this king might be the one in whom the messianic vision would be fulfilled. Either way, the kings went the way of mortals, but the psalms remained as testimony to Israel's messianic vision. So in a real sense they were messianic in intention. The same is true of eschatological lyrics which are not specifically messianic. There is a discrepancy between the cosmic language and any imaginable historical situation. But even if they are hyperbolic wishes about the outcome of historical crises, they nonetheless reflect Israel's belief about the ultimate destination of history and the events to precede it. Thus certain psalms present an intentionally eschatological vision and, as the vision still awaited its fulfilment, their employment by the Psalter's redactors suggests that eschatological hope was a major concern of their redactional agenda.

Fourth, the very inclusion of the royal psalms in the Psalter suggests they were understood messianically. For otherwise their presence in a collection for use in Second Temple times would have made little sense.⁵⁵ They would either recall the failure of the divine promises treasured by the Davidic dynasty or be simply redundant. This puzzled Olshausen.

Es finden sich . . . einige Lieder, die fast nothwendig aus einer älteren vorexilischen Zeit herrühren müssen, besonders einige sog. Königspsalmen, wie Ps. II. XX. XXI. vgl. auch Ps. XXVIII. LXI. LXIII. Weshalb gerade diese Gesänge hier Aufnahme gefunden, ist sehr unklar, da sie in einer Zeit, wo es keine israelitische Könige gab, kaum beim Gottesdienste gebraucht werden konnten.⁵⁶

poets' descriptions of the present king in David's city, and the prophets' description of the future king. . . . The poets thought that the ideal was realized, or hoped that it would be realized, in the earthly king seated before them on the throne. The prophets were not satisfied with anything which the present reality could offer, and looked hopefully forward to a new king, whom God would send 'in his own good time', and who would be the realization of the ideal which the present kings did not appear to fulfil, because it was beyond human power" [*PIW*, I:49].

⁵⁵ This point has been made by Forbes, *Studies*, 4; Childs, *Introduction*, 516.

⁵⁶ Olshausen, *Psalmen*, 31.

Indeed, Olshausen is stating only half the case. For he does not mention Pss 110, and 132, which occur in Books IV and V, these books being, according to Olshausen, the latest to have been added to the Psalter. After the extinction of the kingdom psalms referring to the king or *mashiah* would have been understood as referring only to the expected eschatological deliverer. The redactors therefore incorporated into the Psalter these psalms which they must have regarded as embodying Israel's messianic and eschatological hope. This suggests that such concerns were part, at least, of their editorial purpose. Of course, it does not give the whole collection an eschatological purpose. However such psalms would have a tendency to 'infect' everything in their context with their vision, and the redactors may have purposed as much.

That the redactors may indeed have wished the messianic psalms to determine the interpretation of the whole Psalter is suggested by the positions in which they have been placed.⁵⁷ There is good ground, as we noted above, for regarding Ps 2, together with Ps 1, as functioning as an introduction to the Psalter. As such, it sets the tone and determines the interpretation of what is to follow. That means the ensuing collection is to be about ultimate war between Yhwh's *mashiah* and his foes, his triumph, and the establishment of his universal dominion, centred on Zion. The combined effect of Pss 1 and 2 together may be that Ps 1 foretells the triumph of the righteous divine king who meditates on Yhwh's Torah, and Ps 2 shows him going forth to battle with its predicted outcome.⁵⁸ Or Ps 1 delineates the person who will share in the king's triumph, possibly as a warrior, and Ps 2 pronounces that one's blessedness. The two psalms together announce that the ensuing collection is a handbook for the eschatological wars of the Lord, describing the coming events, and the Yhwh-allegiance required of those who would triumph. Other messianic psalms occur in significant positions. Ps 72 forms the conclusion to Book II; Ps 89 to Book III. Ps 110 precedes the jubilant *Halleluyah* group Pss 111-117. This suggests the messianic theme is central to the purpose of the collection.

IV. Summary.

Modern scholarly investigation of the MT Psalter has uncovered internal evidence which suggests that the ancient view that it was purposefully redacted, not as a hymnbook, but as a prophetic scripture, is correct. The Psalter bears evidence of this, in fact, at both small and large scale levels. Thematic and linguistic links exist

⁵⁷ The point is made by Forbes [*Studies*, 4]: 'The remarkable and prominent position of these Psalms shows the high significance attached to them.'

⁵⁸ The idea that Ps 1 describes the divine king himself is made by Sheppard [*Wisdom*, 142].

between adjacent psalms. Larger psalms groups appear to have been deliberately placed. Books I to III are a carefully crafted sub-unit, skilfully linked to Books IV and V. Royal psalms occur at structurally significant points. The five-book division is intrinsic to the final shaping.

However, if attempts to prove purposeful redaction can be judged very successful, attempts to define the redactional agenda must be judged only partially so. Although current theories have major strengths, rightly noting the centrality of Davidic kingship and the importance of Ps 89, they also fail to fit the evidence in a number of details. What these theories have in common is that they propose that the sequence of Psalms principally reflects historical events. However, there is internal evidence, particularly in the placing of royal and eschatological psalms, that the Psalter was designed to refer to eschatological events. Such a view is supported by the historical context of the Psalter's redaction, which was dominated by eschatological concerns, and by virtually all ancient commentators, and some moderns. Such a conclusion seems not implausible, in light of the historical context of the Psalter's redaction, and the nature of certain psalms and their redactional placing. Yet, in spite of this no attempt has been made recently to explain the details of the Psalter's redaction in terms of an eschatological agenda. Those who seek the significance of the Psalter's arrangement, Wilson, Walton, and McCann, assume a historically oriented redactional agenda, while those who recognize an eschatological agenda, Childs and Brennan, have not sought to work out its implications for the Psalter's arrangement. In the following chapters I shall combine these two approaches, investigating the Psalter's arrangement in terms of an eschatologically oriented editorial agenda. In so doing, I hope to sketch the outline of a programme of eschatological events in the Psalter, which makes sense of both heading and content of individual psalms, the sequence of psalms, the arrangement of internal collections, and the five book arrangement.

III. The Psalms of Asaph.

In the foregoing chapters I suggested that the Psalter may have been redacted as a literary unit with an intentionally eschatological reference. In the remainder of this thesis, I shall try show that this is indeed a plausible way to read it, and in particular that this redaction takes the form of a programme of eschatological events. In this and the next chapter I shall investigate the Psalms of Asaph and the Songs of Ascents and conclude that each of these groups of psalms contains a sequence of events which can be read as depicting an eschatological ingathering. Then, in chapter V, I shall investigate the nature of eschatological programmes in the biblical prophets. Thereafter, in chapter VI, I shall compare the motifs and themes of the two psalm-cycles to the principal motifs of the prophetic eschatological programme.

Twelve psalms (50, 73-83) contain in their heading the ascription **לְאַסָּף** *Of Asaph*. We shall investigate them as an independent literary category, a self-contained psalm-cycle, somewhat like Schubert's *Liederkreise*. This is justified for at least three reasons. First, their common heading indicates that the Psalter's redactor regarded them all as belonging in some sense to an Asaphite tradition. Second, the unity imposed on them by the heading is confirmed by the consecutive placing of Pss 73 to 83 in the Psalter. Ps 50 is, of course, an exception. But we have already suggested that Pss 50 and 73 were separated for literary and structural purposes, and shall suggest later that the same phenomenon also has an explanation in the Psalter's eschatological event-sequence. Third, these psalms display a number of common linguistic and stylistic characteristics. Examples might include the *dis legomena* **מִשְׁאֹרֹת/מִשְׁוֹאֹת** at Pss 73:18 and 74:3 and **זִיז שְׂדֵי** at Pss 50:11 and 80:14[13].¹ In addition to these twelve Asaph Psalms, three further psalms (96, 105, 106) are connected with Asaph and his associates by the Chronicler (1 Chr 16:7-36). As shall be seen, these 'deutero-Asaph' psalms share some characteristics of the Asaph group, and therefore shall also be considered in this investigation.²

I. Heading and Tradition.

The simplest interpretation of the **לְאַסָּף** heading connects these psalms with the biblical figure Asaph and his descendants. The biblical tradition concerning them,

¹ Further thematic and linguistic characteristics of these psalms will be noted in chapter VI.

² The phrase 'deutero-Asaph' is from Nasuti, *Tradition History* [80, 91, 190, *et passim*].

mostly from Chronicles, is as follows.³ Asaph was a Levite from the Korahite clan (1 Chr 26:1). He was one of three heads of levitical families appointed by King David and the chief Levites to *be in charge of song in the house of Yhwh* (1 Chr 6:31-39; cf. 15:16ff; 2 Chr 5:12) and to *prophecy* [נבא] *with lyres, harps, and cymbals* (1 Chr 25:1).⁴ The prophetic nature of their ministry is elsewhere alluded to in that each is described as חזן or חזנה, *a seer* (1 Chr 25:5; 2 Chr 29:30; 2 Chr 35:15). These head Levites were under the supervision of King David, while the sons of each family served in the temple under their fathers' direction (1 Chr 25:6). Asaph is identified as a composer of cultic songs, psalms of Asaph and David being sung in Solomon's Temple (2 Chr 29:30; 35:15). His descendants are accorded an illustrious role in Israel's cult. His son Joseph was head of the first of the twenty-four courses of Levites (1 Chr 25:9). The Asaphites, with the Hemanites and the Jeduthunites, sang at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Chr 5:12). An Asaphite in Jehoshaphat's time, Jahaziel, prophesied divine intervention in battle against foreign invaders (2 Chr 20:14ff). Joah ben Asaph, the *mazkir*, was part of the small delegation appointed to meet Sennacherib's threat (2 Ki 18:18,37; Isa 36:3,22). Asaphites, with Hemanites and Jeduthunites, took part in Hezekiah's reform, purifying the temple, and possibly serving as musicians (2 Chr 29:13; cf. vv.25-30). By the time of Josiah's reform, only the Asaphites are mentioned as temple singers, although the historical role of Heman and Jeduthun is acknowledged (2 Chr 35:15). In the records of the post-exilic return, apart from one Jeduthunite (Neh 11:17), the only levitical singers to return were Asaphites, who formed more than a third of the returning Levites (Ezra 2:41,65; Neh 7:44,67).⁵ These sang and played at the foundation of the second temple, and the dedication of the wall (Ezra 3:10-11; 12:27-43). One of their number was chief Levite in the city (Neh 11:22).

1. Prophet-musicians.

One thing that is notable about this tradition is that the Asaphites are depicted as prophet-musicians. There are references not only to their musical and prophetic gifts,

³ As it is the motifs of these traditions which concern us here, we shall avoid discussion of the historicity of the Chronicler's account. As regards the development of cultic prophecy in Israel, see Auld, "Prophets Through the Looking Glass," 3-23, 41-44; Murray, "Prophecy," 200-216.

⁴ The three companies of singers are named as either Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (1 Chr 15:17-19), or Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1 Chr 25:1,6; 2 Chr 5:12). The cognate names Ethan and Jeduthun may denote the same company.

⁵ There seems to be a discrepancy between Ezra 2:41, which mentions 128 Asaphites, and Neh 7:44, which has 148.

but to the conjunction of these gifts in a Temple ministry of prophetic song.⁶ These two gifts were often regarded by biblical writers as related. Miriam and Deborah are each called נביאה and connected with cultic song (Ex 15:20-21; Judg 4:4; 5:1). Prophets in Saul's time prophesied to music (1 Sam 10:5). David's harp eased Saul's affliction from spirit oppression (1 Sam 16:23). Elisha called for a harpist before prophesying (2 Ki 3:15-16). Ezekiel was to his contemporaries 'like one who sings love songs with a beautiful voice and plays well on an instrument' (Ezk 33:32). Likewise, the medieval Islamic mystic al-Ghazali wrote that music brings forth religious states in which there are 'revelations and sweet intimacies indescribable, ineffable.'⁷ Such states are sought through music and dancing by dervishes and Sufi mystics. Thus it appears likely that ancient Hebrew writers regarded the psalms ascribed to the Asaphite musicians as future-predictive. Indeed, as Nasuti points out, some features of the Asaph Psalms themselves suggest that they originated in a community that regarded itself as having prophetic powers.⁸ The occurrence of divine oracles in the Asaph Psalms is more than three times greater than in the rest of the Psalter,⁹ and Asaph Pss 82:8 and 83:18 look forward to the future rule of Yhwh over all the earth.

2. The mazkir and the zikhron rite.

A second characteristic of the Asaphite tradition is the office of *mazkir* and the apparently related *zikhron* ritual. The nature of the *mazkir*'s role may have been improperly understood. Joah ben Asaph, we are told, was המזכיר (2 Ki 18:18ff; Isa 36:3ff). RSV and NIV render the term as *the recorder*, presumably implying a scribal role. But this hiphil participle of זכר would be better rendered 'remembrancer', as would its Greek renditions, ἀναμνησκών (LXX) and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων (Josephus).¹⁰ A look at the biblical passages referring to this post may help clarify the nature of it.

(1) It appears in lists of court officials in the historical books (2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Ki 4:3; 1 Chr 18:15). This suggests it was an important civil office. But in all these

⁶ The prophetic role is ascribed to the Asaphites in later Jewish literature. Josephus calls Jahaziel ben Asaph (2 Chr 20) a *prophet* (Ant. IX.1.2), and the role of prophet is ascribed to Asaph in the Talmud.

⁷ A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination*, 312-4.

⁸ Nasuti, *Tradition-History*, 158.

⁹ The main Asaph group, which comprises only 8% of the Psalter, contains four divine oracles (50, 75, 81, 82). Elsewhere in the Psalter there are 12 more (2, 12, 46, 60, 62, 68, 87, 89, 91, 95, 110, 132), and one of these is deuterio-Asaphic (95). (We are identifying as divine oracles only those psalms which describe particular speech as of divine origin, and not those psalms merely of oracular tone, such as Ps 95:7d-11, which Gunkel, for instance, regards as an oracle [*Psalmen*, ad loc.].)

¹⁰ Ant. X.I.ii.

lists, as in the narratives about Joah, the *mazkir* is a different person from the scribe. Their roles were apparently distinct. Joah the *mazkir* is sent together with Shevna the scribe to meet the Assyrian commander (2 Ki 18:18ff; Isa 36:3ff). One scribe might be sent to record the Assyrian's words. Two would be unnecessary.

(2) Isa 62:6-7 may further clarify the nature of the *mazkir*'s role: *Mazkirim of Yhwh* (מַזְכִּירִים אֶת־יְהוָה), *do not be silent, and give him no silence, until he establishes and until he makes Jerusalem a praise in the earth*. This suggests the *mazkir*'s function is to ensure Yhwh's remembrance of his people's plight, so that he takes action on their behalf.

(3) It is unclear in 2 Ki 18:18,37 and Isa 36:3,22 whether *mazkir* refers to Joah or Asaph. The ambiguity may be significant. Asaph himself was a *mazkir* in function, if not in name, for he was appointed to *make remembrance* (לְהַזְכִּיר) before Yhwh (1 Chr 16:4). The natural designation for such a functionary would be 'mazkir'. And if a reason is sought why the actual title is not applied to Asaph, then it may be that the office was less developed in earlier times. Now the tradition regards Asaph as a cultic prophet, not a scribe. It is therefore likely that the *mazkir*'s role was prophetic and cultic. Apparently too, it was associated with levitical music and the sounding of priestly *hazzerot* (חֲצֻצְרוֹת) or trumpets (1 Chr 16:5-6).

Thus the *mazkir* or remembrancer seems to have been a cultic official whose role was to bring Yhwh to remembrance of his people's plight in order that he might deliver them. If that is so, then he may have been a functionary in the cultic rite, referred to in Num 10:8-10, of making a *zikhron* (זִכְרוֹן) or 'remembrance' before Yhwh.¹¹ This rite consisted of priests blowing *hazzerot* before Yhwh in times of foreign invasion, to bring him to remembrance of Israel's plight and obtain his deliverance. This is endorsed by other biblical passages, where the *hazzerot* appear in unambiguously martial contexts (Num 10:2,9,10; 31:6; Hos 5:8; 2 Chr 13:12,14; 20:28).¹² They are also blown *before the ark of Yhwh* (1 Chr 15:24[23]; 16:6), a phrase probably having military associations, given the place of the ark in Israel's warfare (Num 10:35; Jos 3-8; 1Sa 4:3-5; *et passim*). In addition, the Numbers passage states that the *hazzerot* are for gathering the people and breaking camp in the wilderness marches, and for

¹¹ The connection between the *remembrancer* of the historical books and Num 10 was suggested by King almost a century ago [*Psalms*, II:ix-x]. I am not aware of any discussion of it since.

¹² In Ps 98:6 they are mentioned in the context of Yhwh's coming to judge the earth (v.9). At 2 Ki 11:14 and 2 Chr 23:13 they are used for praise and rejoicing at the anointing of Joash, which was also the occasion of the destruction of Athaliah and the priests of Baal. Elsewhere they are used in the general context of praise (2 Ki 11:14; 1 Chr 13:8; 15:28; 16:42; 2 Chr 5:12,13; 15:14; 29:26,27,28; Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35-41). Yet even these cases are often contexts of national reform, where cult and nation are, or had been, under threat. At 2 Ki 12:14[13] their function is unspecified.

gathering the people to Yhwh's dwelling at the tabernacle and to the appointed feasts and New Moon festivals (Num 10:2-10).¹³ Thus the trumpets of *zikhron* were for bringing Yhwh to remembrance of his people's situation, in particular in times of national gathering and foreign invasion.¹⁴

The persistence in Israel of the Holy War rites outlined in Num 10 can be seen from the Qumran War Rule (1QM), which depicts *hazzerot* being blown by priests to make *zikhron* before Yhwh in a context of ultimate war. Every detail is consistent with the rite outlined in the Numbers. Indeed, the War Scroll requires that Num 10:9 be proclaimed by the High Priest at the time of the battle.

And it is you who said by the hand of Moses: *When the battle comes to pass in your land against the enemy who oppresses you, you shall sound the trumpets; and you shall be remembered before your God and shall be saved from your enemies* (1QM X.6-8).

Other passages in this document show how the *hazzerot* were to be used for gathering the people and for war.

[. . . the trumpets] of battle formations; and the trumpets of summons when the gates of battle are opened that the foot-soldiers may go out; and the trumpets of sounding of slaughter; and the trumpets of ambush; and the trumpets of pursuit when the enemy is overthrown; and the trumpets of ingathering (אסף) when the fighting men return (III.1-2).

On the trumpets summoning the foot-soldiers to advance toward the enemy formations when the gates of war are opened they shall write, 'Zikhron of Vengeance in God's appointed Time' (III.7-8).

And when they return from battle to the formation, they shall write on the trumpets of return, 'God has ingathered' (אסף אל) (III:10).

'The priests shall blow [the *hazzer*]ot of the *zikhron* and all the battle formations shall gather (אסף) to them and shall divide against all the [lines of the Kitt]im to destroy them utterly' (XVIII.4-5).

'The priests, the sons of Aaron, shall stand before [the] formations and shall blow the *hazzerot* of *zikhron*. After this, they shall open the gates for the foot-soldiers (4Q493).

¹³ The New Moon festival appears to have been a time for clan gatherings (1 Sam 20:5-6), as the Sabbath was for family groups, and the appointed feasts for the whole nation.

¹⁴ Ever since Barr's *Semantics*, deriving the meanings of words from their roots has rightly been regarded with suspicion. Nevertheless, the verb *הצצר* to blow a *hazzerah* (2 Chr 5:13), even if partly onomatopoeic, may relate to the root *הצר*, which signifies *surround* or *enclose* in Arabic and Ethiopic [Gesenius, *Lexicon*, 299], and which lies behind the Hebrew noun *חצר* a court, or enclosure. If such an etymology is allowed, it may confirm that the *hazzerot* are for gathering and protection.

Thus the ideas associated with making a *zikhron* with *hazzerot*, alluded to in Num 10, were not forgotten in the post-biblical period. On the contrary, they have a prominent place in traditions about the latterday ultimate Holy War.

There are clearly similarities between the descriptions of the *zikhron* rite and the office of the *mazkir*. Both words derive from the root זָכַר, and the natural designation for one who makes *zikhron* would be the hiphil participle, *mazkir*. Both are associated with bringing Yhwh to remembrance of Israel's plight so that he may deliver them. Both are associated with foreign invasion. Both are associated with the *hazzerot*. We would therefore suggest that the *mazkir* was a functionary in the cultic rite of remembrancing Yhwh, a rite which was central to Israel's Holy War traditions. Exactly what part the *mazkir* played is not clear. If the Chronicler's distinction between Levites and priests is accepted, then the role of the non-priestly Asaphites was probably not that of sounding the *hazzerot*.¹⁵ Instead, as levitical prophet-musicians, their role may have been to chant petitions and prophetic oracles appropriate to the occasion, as did Jahaziel in Jehoshaphat's time,¹⁶ or to sound the *shofar*.¹⁷ But whatever the exact nature of the *mazkir*'s role, tradition records that it had long been associated the Asaphites. Asaph was a *mazkir* in function, if not in name. Jahaziel fulfilled a *mazkir* role. Joah in his day held the important position of *the mazkir*, possibly signifying that he was chief official in charge of this rite, responsible for ensuring Yhwh's assistance in time of war.

In the light of this, another glance at the Asaphite tradition yields further evidence that seems to confirm the Asaphites continuing association with this role.

(1) Joah the *mazkir* was one of three men selected to meet the commander of the Assyrian invasion. These three men would hardly have been selected accidentally. They must have held positions entitling them to be intimately involved in such a matter. Elyakim, אֵשֶׁר עַל-הַבֵּית, seems to have been the Chief Vizier or Home Secretary (2 Ki 19:2; Isa 37:2).¹⁸ Shevna the scribe's task may have been to record the

¹⁵ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the complex question of the nature and the process of development of the priestly and levitical offices in Israel. Nonetheless, it is probably safe to assume that holy war traditions existed in pre-exilic times, and were associated with cultic personnel.

¹⁶ Humbert notes that the holy war rite, which he calls the '*teru'a*', had both a vocal and instrumental component [*Terou'a*, 22-28].

¹⁷ Hos 5:8 suggests that the *shofar* and *hazzerah* were functionally similar, at least for purposes of sounding alarm. In the early period there may not have been a consistent distinction between the two instruments [Oesterley, *Fresh Approach*, 113; Bockmuehl, "The Trumpet," 201].

¹⁸ See Layton, "The Steward," who concludes that this governmental role developed from the early monarchic period until 'eventually the royal steward became a senior administrator, one of the highest

Assyrian's words. Joah too presumably held a position entitling him to be present. Such a position might be if he were the official in charge of the supernatural aspect of national security.

(2) At the point in these narratives when Elyakim and Shevna go to Isaiah to report the situation, Joah is unmentioned (2 Ki 19:2; Isa 37:2). His absence from this later delegation at such a time of national crisis is unusual. It is admittedly an argument from silence, but it is possible that he was absent because he was active elsewhere in matters connected with his office as *mazkir*. Prayer for deliverance had already begun in the temple (2 Ki 19:1; Isa 37:1). Is it not possible that Joah was there, fulfilling his role as *mazkir* in the cultic rite of remembrancing Yhwh for the nation, and that the prophetic oracle received by Isaiah may be intended as the divine response to the cultic act (1 Ki 19:20ff; Isa 37:6ff)?

(3) An Asaphite, Jahaziel, foretold divine intervention in battle against foreign enemies in Jehoshaphat's time (2 Chr 20:14-17). The singing and praises of levitical musicians are represented as instrumental in the ensuing victory.

(4) There are several references in the Asaph Psalms to foreign invasion. The LXX headings of MT Pss 76 and 80 contain the ascriptions ὁδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον and ψαλμὸς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἀσσύριον (LXX Ps 75:1; 79:1), indicating a connection with Sennacherib's siege of 2 Ki 18-19 and Isa 36-37 and Joah the *mazkir*. Ps 79:1-3 refers to a situation where a foe has invaded the land of Israel and poured out blood around Jerusalem. Asaph Ps 83 is a prophetic oracle about deliverance from an encircling nation confederacy. Psalms such as 79 and 83 may be examples of just the kind of cultic liturgy chanted by the *mazkir* in the cultic rite of remembrancing Yhwh.

(5) The root זכר *remember*, occurs sixteen times in Asaphite psalms, thirteen times in the main group and three times more in deuterio-Asaph Pss 105 and 106.¹⁹ Elsewhere in the Psalter it occurs only thirty-eight times. Therefore the Asaph and deuterio-Asaph Psalms, which comprise together about ten per cent of the Psalter, contain almost a third of its occurrences of this verb. This disproportionate emphasis suggests that it was an important idea to the Asaphite community.

(6) The Asaphite interest in remembrancing is confirmed by the feature of historical review which is pursued almost obsessively in the Asaph and deuterio-Asaph

officials in the state' (649). This accords with Josephus (*Ant.* X.1.2.), for whom Elyakim was not simply the palace administrator, but ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπίτροπος.

¹⁹ 74:2,18,22; 77:4,7,12,12[3,6,11,11]; 78:35,39,42; 79:8; 105:5; 106:4,45. If the deuterio-Asaph Psalms are omitted, the main Asaph group, which comprises eight per cent of the Psalter, has almost a quarter, thirteen out of forty-one, of its occurrences of this verb.

Psalms.²⁰ The purpose of this is apparently to put God in remembrance of his former acts on Israel's behalf, and on that basis to request future deliverance. Such a purpose is particularly evident in passages such as Pss 74:12-23 and 77:8-13[7-12]. But it is discernable elsewhere, as in Ps 80's repeated juxtaposition of historical reminiscence and pleas for mercy.

(7) Ps 50:15 promises that when the faithful call upon God in the *day of hostility* (צָרָה) he will deliver them. In Ps 77:2-3[1-2] the psalmist calls to God to hear him in his *day of hostility* (צָרָה). Similarly, Ps 81:8[7] recalls that when Israel previously called to God in the Egyptian *hostility* (צָרָה), he delivered them. This idea of crying out to God for deliverance when threatened by hostile enemies reflects the role of the mazkir.

(8) Asaph Ps 81 mentions the sounding of the trumpet, the *shofar*, and sets out terms of deliverance from enemies (vv.4,14ff).

(9) The phrase על-הגִּיתִית concerning the winepresses, occurs in Ps 81:1 and following Ps 83 (84:1). Several translations of this word are possible.²¹ However LXX, apparently reading it as גִּיתִית, chooses that of winepresses: ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν. Likewise, the majority of rabbinic and patristic interpreters, the former uninfluenced by LXX, 'unanimously associated the word with the *gat* or wine press.'²² The winepress image is frequently connected in Hebrew thought with the ultimate destruction of God's enemies in war (Isa 63:2-3; Joel 4[3]:13; Rev 14:19,20). This was also how it was understood by early Rabbis and Church Fathers.²³

(10) Several individual Asaphites bear names suggesting a concern with remembrancing: Zikhri (1 Chr 9:15), Zaccur (1 Chr 25:2), and Zechariah (1 Chr 26:1-2, cf. 9:21; 26:14; 2 Chr 20:14; 29:13; Neh 12:35).

3. The Ingathering Theme.

Another characteristic of the Asaphite tradition is the motif of ingathering. As noted above, gathering is one of the functions of the *hazzerot* associated with the remembrancing rite. But there are a number of other gathering motifs in the Asaphite

²⁰ 74:2-10; 76:3-9; 77:6-21[5-20]; 78:4-72; 79:1-4; 80:6,7,9-17[5,6,8-16]; 81:6-12[5-11]; 83:10-13[9-12]; 105:1-45; 106:2,6-46.

²¹ The Targum suggests that it was a kind of harp from Gath. Rashi also notes this view [Comm on Ps 8:1]. Kimhi states that it is a type of song, and also notes the notion that David was in Gath when he composed it, and that it was somehow connected with Obed-Edom the Gittite of 2 Sam 6:11-12 [Comm. on Ps 8:1]. Ibn Ezra and Sa'adya also note the last of these opinions [Ibn Ezra, Comm. on Ps 8:1; Sa'adya, Comm. on Ps 8:1, in *Psalms . . . of the Gaon Rabbenu Saadiah*, 20].

²² J. Schwartz, "Treading the Grapes of Wrath, I," 221. See also Mid Teh 8.1; 84.1.

²³ J. Schwartz, "Treading the Grapes of Wrath, I," 221.

tradition. These not only confirm the Asaphite connection with the remembrancing rite, but also show that gathering was a significant theme for the Asaphites.

(1) First of all, the name Asaph means 'gather.' How this wordplay between name and motif arose is unknown. Possibly the eponymous founder of the Asaphite guild was early associated with this motif. But such a paronomasia in the psalm heading need not surprise us. Deliberate ambiguity is a recognized characteristic of biblical literature in general,²⁴ and of the Psalms in particular.²⁵ And punning upon proper names, later known as **מדרשי שמות**, was a staple of Hebrew interpretation from biblical times.²⁶ Garsiel suggests that a deliberate wordplay on the name Asaph and its meaning *ingather* is found at 2 Chr 29:13-15.²⁷ Thus the very heading **לאסף** might be taken as meaning something like, *For the Ingathering*. Such an interpretation was known to ancient commentators.²⁸

(2) The first word of the first divine oracle of the first Asaph psalm is a command to ingather: **אספו לי חסידיו** *Gather to me my faithful ones!* (50:5). The last psalm of the main Asaph group describes a ten-nation alliance gathered against God and Israel (83:2-9[1-8]). Similar language occurs at the conclusion of the last Asaphite psalm in the Psalter, deutero-Asaph Ps 106: *Save us Yhwh our God, and gather (קבץ) us from among the nations* (v.47). The prominent positions of these psalms, and of the references to gathering in them, suggests this is a significant concern in the Asaphite tradition.

(3) The Asaph Psalms show a particular interest in the person of Joseph. The name occurs four times in the main group (77:16[15]; 78:67; 80:2[1]; 81:6[5]²⁹) and also in deutero-Asaph Ps 105:17, which features a short history of Joseph (vv.17-22). It

²⁴ Glück, "Paronomasia in Biblical Literature," 50-78.

²⁵ Raabe ["Deliberate Ambiguity in the Psalter," 213-227] identifies intentional ambiguity in the Psalter at lexical, phonetic, and grammatical levels. The **לאסף** heading would probably fall into his first category.

²⁶ For the deliberate use of the technique by biblical writers, see Garsiel, "Puns upon Names," 379-86.

²⁷ Garsiel, *Biblical Names*, 174.

²⁸ Jerome renders Asaph as 'congregans' [Opp. Paris (1579) III:480]. See also Homily on Ps 80 [MT 81], *Tractatus de Psalmo LXXX*, 1 (CCSL 78, 76-78). Comm. in Ps VIII, 1 (CCSL 72, 191); Augustine states that when Asaph is translated from Hebrew into Greek and then into Latin, it is interpreted 'synagogue' (Comm. on Ps 72 [MT 73] § 4). Presumably the Greek verb has become the noun, otherwise the connection of Asaph with 'synagogue' is inexplicable. The absence of this idea in early Jewish literature is puzzling. One would expect at least a comment on the occurrences of **אסף** in the heading and v.5 of Ps 50. Could it be that the idea was so obvious as to require no comment, or that the prediction of ingathering to judgment was so distasteful as to avert comment?

²⁹ There is a variant spelling of the name in this instance, **יהוסף**. However, there is no suggestion in the ancient commentators that this signifies another Joseph. It is referred to the son of Jacob, although there is some discussion as to the significance of the variant (MidTeh 81.7; PRE 54b). Boer considers that the spelling is intended to suggest *Yehudah* instead of *Joseph*, and is a scribal alteration indicating Judean opposition to those who hoped for the restoration of the House of Joseph ["Psalm 81:6a", 77].

appears nowhere else in the Psalter. This name is cognate with Asaph.³⁰ It is dually etymologised in Genesis from the roots אסף and יסף with the meanings *God has ingathered* and *Yhwh will add* (Gen 30:23-24). The Genesis figure is also an arch-ingatherer, ingathering the tribes of Israel (Gen 42:17 אסף; 45:19ff) and all the harvest of the earth (Gen 41:48 קבץ). The Asaphite interest in Joseph is further shown in the fact that the name was borne by a son of Asaph (1 Chr 25:2,9), although it is not popular elsewhere in the OT.³¹

(4) The Asaph Psalms show an interest in Jacob. Of the Psalter's 26 references to Jacob, seven, or more than a quarter, are found in the Asaph group, which forms only eight per cent of the Psalter. This may relate to that patriarch's reputation as an ingatherer. For he is represented as commanding the gathering of the tribes of Israel in a context of prophetic utterance concerning the last days (Gen 49:1-2; אסף, קבץ).

(5) Asaph Ps 81 mentions the sounding of the *shofar* 'at the New Moon . . . and on the day of our Feast' (81:4[3]).

Therefore the אסף heading evokes a wide image-complex. This involves the Asaphite guild of cultic prophet-musicians, the cultic rite of remembrancing, performed by the mazkir at times of invasion and siege by foreign armies, the sounding of trumpets, and the gathering of the people. Many of these concerns are reflected in the Psalms of Asaph.

II. Eschatological Orientation.

Several passages in the Asaph Psalms seem to refer intentionally to latterday events. The most striking example is Ps 83, whose pervasive quality of ultimacy would appear to date from its early composition rather than later redaction. It depicts an attack on Israel by a ten-nation alliance gathered from all points of the compass.³² History records no such alliance as that described in the psalm. Gunkel suggests it may have happened in the 'fast ganzlich unbekannten Zeit von Esra bis auf Alexander d. Gr.'³³ But Assyria and Amalek (1 Chr 4:42ff) had ceased to exist in pre-exilic times and are unlikely to have been represented as active half a millennium later. The only recorded event resembling that in the psalm is the invasion in Jehoshaphat's time (2

³⁰ This is noted by MacLaurin, "Joseph and Asaph," 27ff.

³¹ Only one other OT character bore it (Ezra 10:42), or two, if the testimony of Syriac and some LXX mss is taken at Neh 12:14.

³² The Edomites were from the south-east, the Ishmaelites from the south-west, the Moabites from east of the Dead Sea, the Hagrites from the north-east, Gebal from south of the Dead Sea (a district known to Pliny as Gebalene; not the Gebal near Tyre of Ezek 27:9), the Ammonites from east of the Jordan, the Amalekites from the southern deserts, the Philistines from the west, Tyre from the north, and Assyria from the north-east [Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 501].

³³ *Psalmen*, 365.

Chr 20). This was an alliance of Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and possibly Ishmaelites³⁴ (2 Chr 20:1,10,22-23), four of the allies of Ps 83:7-8[6-7]. This invasion is further connected with Ps 83 by the Asaphite prophecy of victory which preceded it (2 Chr 20:14ff). It might therefore be a possible historical background to Ps 83, and the psalm may represent a cultic prophecy of that period, predicting the establishment of Yahweh's universal *malkut* in the aftermath of the battle (Ps 83:19-18[18-17]). If so, the imperfect fulfilment of the prophecy in Jehoshaphat's time, and the reputation for predictive speech ascribed in Hebrew tradition to the Asaphites, may have led later interpreters, such as the Psalter's redactors, to see in this psalm a continually valid eschatological prophecy.

Moreover one consideration suggests that Ps 83, in the form in which we have received it, should be regarded as an intentionally eschatological prediction – the psalmist, or a later redactor, has augmented the alliance from the four nations of Jehoshaphat's time to ten. A historicist position might suggest that other nations had threatened to join the alliance, or had supported it surreptitiously. That is not impossible. But Assyria was of little significance in Jehoshaphat's time, and it is unlikely they would have taken part in a distant local quarrel, or that the psalmist would have recorded it, if they had. This suggests that the psalm originated in the period after the rise of Assyria, and supports the view of those who think the psalm depicts an archetypal alliance of all Israel's ancient foes.³⁵ Two further factors support this, and suggest that this archetypal alliance depicts eschatological war.

(1) The ten-nation confederacy against Israel (vv.7-9[6-8]) is a traditional motif of Hebrew eschatology, both in biblical and rabbinic literature.³⁶ The ten nations of Ps 83 therefore suggest an eschatological conflict may be envisaged.

(2) Jehoshaphat's battle of 2 Chr 20 was already regarded in biblical times as prefiguring ultimate war (Joel 4:2 [3:2] cf. 3:1ff [2:28ff]), and was so regarded by later interpreters also (1QM I.1-2). Thus, since the list of nations in Ps 83 seems intentionally to evoke Jehoshaphat's battle, the psalm might well be alluding to such eschatological traditions as are recorded in Joel. Yet the psalmist's deliberate augmentation of the details of Jehoshaphat's battle suggests he may have been trying to describe the antitype of which the historical conflict was the type.

³⁴ LXX's *Ammonites with some Meunites* is preferable to MT's unlikely *sons of Ammon together with some Ammonites* (20:1). The Meunites, who are mentioned with Arabs at 2 Chr 26:7, may have been of Ishmaelite stock. Josephus (*Ant.* IX.1.2) says that the Moabites and Ammonites took with them at this time a great body of Arabians.

³⁵ This view is suggested by Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 499-500; Kraus, *Psalmen*, II:577.

³⁶ Dan 7:7; Rev 17:3,12-16; SefZ 40, 53-62; PdRE 62b.

Other Asaph Psalms have a feeling of ultimacy about them, which appears to indicate the consummation of all things. Ps 50 depicts the advent of God, in tempest and blazing fire, to judge between the righteous and the wicked (1-7,16). Ps 80:18-19[17-18] refers to a *man at your right hand, a son of man whom you have raised up for yourself*, in whose time Israel will no longer turn from God. It is unclear how far the psalmist envisaged an eschatological figure. But the phrase would seem to indicate some kind of national leader. And Israel's no longer turning from God would reflect eschatological hopes such as Jer 31:31ff and Mic 7:16-20. Ps 82 describes the final dispatch of all cosmic supernatural opponents of God's *malkut*.³⁷ Anticipating the last verses of Ps 83 it describes all the nations as God's inheritance, that is, they are to become his dominion. Such passages, even if not unambiguously eschatological in intention, are likely to have been interpreted eschatologically by the Psalter's redactors, as they were by later interpreters. For instance, the writer of 11QMelch cites Ps 82 as a proof text for the superhero Melchizedek's destruction of 'Satan and the spirits of his lot [who] rebelled by turning away from the precepts of God.' The Targum interprets the *בן אמצתה לך*, *son you have strengthened for yourself*, of Ps 80:16[15] as *מלכא משיחא דחילתא לך*, 'King Messiah whom you have strengthened for yourself.' Moreover it is likely, in light of this, that the more explicitly human *בן-אדם אמצת לך* of 80:18[17] might have been interpreted as referring to an individual eschatological leader. Such a supposition is supported by the wider context of the Psalter, where *the man at your right hand* (80:18[17]) evokes the less ambiguously messianic figure of Ps 110:1. NumR 14.1 interprets *Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh* in Ps 80:3[2] of messianic figures. PRE 62b names the enemies of Ps 83:6-8 then comments, 'All of them are destined to die by the hand of the Son of David.' Kimhi states that Ps 50 is about the gathering of the nations to the battle of Gog and Magog and the day of judgment. The degree of intentional eschatology in these passages probably varies, but that did not prevent their being perceived as eschatological by later interpreters. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that the Psalter's redactors saw in these psalms hints, at least, of a latterday reference when they included them in the Psalter. And in that case, their eschatological tone may be taken into account in interpreting the Psalter.

III. Narrative Sequence.

As shall be seen in the following chapter, several commentators have suggested that a sequence of events exists in the Songs of Ascents. No-one, however, as far as I am

³⁷ The intentional eschatology of Ps 82 is recognized by Welch, *Psalter*, 42ff.

aware, has suggested the same for the Psalms of Asaph. Possibly this should make us wary. But the clear thematic links between the early and later Asaph Psalms encourage us tentatively to consider this possibility.

For instance, Ps 50 contains all the major themes which occur in the collection, and seems to have an introductory function. Ps 83 displays features which mark it as the conclusion of the main Asaph group, the theme of ultimate war and God's impending universal dominion, and several literary closural features.³⁸ In Ps 50:2 God comes to judge his people in blazing fire. In Ps 83:15[14] his blazing fire of judgment is to be poured upon the nations. In Ps 50 the first divine oracle of the collection commands: *Gather to me my faithful ones!* (50:5). In Ps 83 an alliance of nations has gathered against Israel. In Ps 50:4-7 Israel are gathered for imminent judgment,³⁹ and a court scene is envisaged, where God testifies against them. In Ps 82:1 the *elohim*, the tutelary deities of the nations, are gathered in the divine council.⁴⁰ A court scene is envisaged where God rises to pronounce sentence on them (v.1), and is then exhorted to judge the earth (v.8).⁴¹ Ps 83 then depicts the eve of the enactment of this judgment. God is exhorted to destroy the nations gathered in alliance. In Ps 50:15 God promises the righteous, *Call on me in the day of hostility and I will deliver you*. Ps 83 represents the day of hostility, when Jerusalem is surrounded by armies, and the psalmist, the mazkir, cries out to God for deliverance.

³⁸ These are discussed more fully below.

³⁹ That is, taking the participle שפֹּט not as a noun, but as a verb indicating impending action. Such a translation is favoured by Delitzsch [*Psalms*, II:139, 146] and Kirkpatrick [*Psalms*, 280].

⁴⁰ There is a school of interpretation which would equate *elohim* with human 'judges', making the psalm an appeal against civil injustice [e.g., Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, ad loc.]. This interpretation is unknown in ancient Jewish literature. The earliest known interpretation of Ps 82, 11QM^{elch}, understands *elohim* to indicate subordinate deities. The Masada Psalms fragment (MasPs^a) seems to view the battle of Ps 83 as the execution of the judgment passed in Ps 82. Its only divergence from MT, at Ps 83:7[6], gives אֱלֹהֵי אֲדוֹם, *the gods of Edom*, instead of MT's אֹהֲלֵי אֲדוֹם, *the tents of Edom*. Many modern commentators also suggest that Ps 82 should be interpreted as judgment upon the gods [Tsevat, "God and the Gods," 123-137; Mullen, *The Divine Council*, 226-244; Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background," 29-126; O'Callaghan, "A Note on the Canaanite Background," 311-14; Welch, *Psalter*, 42ff]. Welch summarises the case well: 'Appeal may be taken to Exod. 21:6 as offering some ground for the view that the name אֱלֹהִים or gods was applied to judges in Israel, though even there this rendering stands so much in need of support that it is incapable of giving support. But there is no justification in Hebrew usage for calling judges 'sons of the Most High' (v.6). And if we are to accept the rendering 'judges' in this verse, we must suppose Yahweh to be represented as saying 'Ye are judges, and all of you sons of the Most High', a translation which seems to condemn itself' [*Psalter*, 43n.].

⁴¹ For the use of נָצַב with the sense 'to rise to pronounce a verdict or judgment' see Gen 28:13; Num 22:23, 31, 34; Amos 7:9; 9:1, all of which are consistent with uttering a verdict or enacting a judgment. The parallelism of Ps 82:1 also supports such a translation. For further discussion, see Tsevat, "God and the Gods."

The collection also reflects the destruction of the temple (74:3-7). Likewise its repeated references to the Exodus, a motif elsewhere associated with redemption from exile (Isa 43:16-21), suggests that exile is the background to the collection. Several commentators note that the collection depicts an exilic situation.⁴² Therefore Ps 50 depicts Yhwh commanding Israel's ingathering from exile, apparently in order to judge among them (v.4). The last psalm of the main Asaph group (Ps 83) depicts an ingathering of nations against Israel, intent on destroying them (v.5[4]) and taking possession of their land (v.13[12]). The end of the final deutero-Asaph Psalm refers explicitly to the ingathering of Israel from exile (106:47).

If we were to go further and tentatively suggest how the intervening Asaph Psalms might fit into this overall progression of thought, something such as the following might be suggested.

Ps 50. Command to ingather Israel to judgment. God pronounces sentence. The righteous will be delivered in the day of hostility, the wicked torn in pieces.

Ps 73. The wicked prosper. God will destroy them when he arises.

Ps 74. The nations destroyed the temple. They still mock God. The mazkir makes remembrance of their deeds before God, who is exhorted to repay them.

Ps 75. Praise. Divine oracle. God's judgment is near.

Ps 76. A reminiscence of Yhwh's past deliverances. Such an interpretation makes sense of the LXX heading, ὁδὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσάριον (LXX Ps 75:1).

Ps 77. The psalmist-mazkir cries to God in the day of hostility (vv.2-3[1-2]). He calls God to remembrance, on the basis of his former love to Israel, to act on Israel's behalf.

Ps 78. Recollection of Israel's failures and God's mercies.

Ps 79. The invasion of the nations. They have invaded God's inheritance and destroyed Jacob's pasture (vv.1,7). They have killed many Israelites, and have surrounded Jerusalem, shedding much blood (vv.2-3). They have done this around Jerusalem, where they remain and pour scorn on those within (vv.3-4).

Ps 80. The cry of the mazkir: *Hear us! . . . Shine forth! . . . Awaken your hero-might and come with deliverance to us!* (v.2-3[1-2]). Plea for national restoration and divine enabling of the national leader (v.18[17]). Promise of future obedience (v.19[18]).

Ps 81. The music of the *mazkir* before the battle (vv.3-4). Kraus notes that from v.15[14] 'we are to deduce that the people of God are surrounded and threatened by

⁴² Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 427-30; Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 76; Illman, *Thema*, 55-64; Beaucamp, *Le Psautier*, II:4.

enemies.⁴³ An oracle announces that the condition of deliverance is obedience (vv.14-15[13-14]).

Ps 82. The first result of divine intervention in response to the remembrancing rite is the judgment of the tutelary deities of the nations.

Ps 83. The day of hostility spoken of in Ps 50. A ten-nation confederacy gathers for war against Israel. PRE 62b cites this psalm in connection with Sennacherib's attack, which it apparently regards as typological of the latterday conflict, for it states that the ten nations are destined to fall by the hand of Messiah ben David.

IV. Summary.

An analysis of the Psalms of Asaph as a coherent group reveals several characteristics. They seem to be connected with the Asaphite guild of levitical prophet-musicians. This guild was apparently associated with the ancient holy war rite of remembrancing Yhwh by the *zikhron* ritual at times of foreign invasion. They also seem to have been associated with the theme of the gathering of Israel. Several aspects of the Asaph psalms suggest that they have some degree of ultimate and cosmic reference. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Psalter's redactors might have understood them eschatologically, possibly altering them in places to strengthen such an understanding. A progression in thought is certainly discernable in the group, beginning with the gathering of Israel to judgment and ending with the gathering against them of a massive alliance of hostile nations. Thus this psalms group can be read as representing an eschatological ingathering of Israel, culminating in battle. In chapter V, we shall present further evidence to support the likelihood of such eschatological conceptions existing in ancient Israel.

⁴³ Kraus, *Psalms*, II:152.

IV. The Songs of Ascents.

We turn now to investigate the Song of Ascents, in order to see what situations and events they reflect, and how they might relate to Second Temple period eschatology. There are fifteen psalms which bear the heading *שיר לַהֲמַעֲלוֹת* *Song of Ascents* (120-134). Like the Psalms of Asaph, these may be investigated as an independent psalm-cycle, for several reasons. First, their common heading indicates that at least their final redactor regarded them in some sense as a group. Second, their consecutive placing in the Psalter further confirms that they were thought to belong together. Third, as Hengstenberg notes, they display an elaborate structure of divine names which suggests they have been composed or redacted as a group.¹ On either side of the central Ps 127 is a heptade of psalms, each containing the tetragrammaton 24 times. Each heptade is divisible into a tetrad and a triad, each containing the tetragrammaton 12 times. In addition, as Forbes notes, the third psalm of each heptade contains the name *Yah*.² Finally, the Songs of Ascents have in common a number of linguistic and stylistic devices, which may suggest they derive from a common source.³ These include step parallelism, verbatim repetition, and other characteristics, many of which shall be discussed in this chapter and chapter VI.

I. Heading and Tradition.

The heading *הַמַּעֲלוֹת* lends itself, like the Asaph heading, to several interpretations. First, it signifies *steps* at its every other occurrence in the Hebrew Bible.⁴ This interpretation is supported by LXX, with its heading Ὠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν. For elsewhere LXX frequently uses the noun ἀναβαθμοί to denote *steps*.⁵ Thus the heading readily lends itself to interpretation as a *Song of the Steps*. But of which steps are these songs? Two points suggest it may be the steps of the temple.

(1) The entire collection has a cultic and sacerdotal ethos which seems to indicate a close connection between these lyrics and temple worship. There are cultic formulae

¹ Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, III:410.

² Forbes, *Studies*, 190.

³ For linguistic and other elements suggesting the common origin of the Songs of Ascents, see Beaucamp, "L'unité," 73-90; Manatti, "Les psaumes graduels," 85-100; Viviers, "Coherence," 275-89.

⁴ Steps of an altar: Ex 20:26; of the throne: 1 Ki 10:19ff; 2 Chr 9:18-19; of the palace: 2 Ki 20:9-11; Isa 38:8; of the City of David: Neh 3:15; 12:37; of ordinary buildings: 2 Ki 9:13; of the Temple: Ezk 40:22,26,31,34,37,49. It is also used of the steps of the Temple at Otot 8:4 (Appendix I).

⁵ LXX uses ἀναβαθμοί at 3 Ki 10:19ff; 4 Ki 9:13; 2 Par 9:18-19; Isa 38:8; Ezk 40:49. Other terms are used at 4 Ki 20:9-11; 2 Esd 13:15; 22:37; Ezk 40:22,26,31,34,37.

which appear originally to have formed responses in temple worship.⁶ There are numerous formulaic blessings.⁷ There is a close relationship, as Liebreich has noted, between the vocabulary of the Ascents and the Aaronic blessing.⁸ And there are also references to Aaron (133:2) and to cultic acts (123:1; 132:8; 133:2; 134:1-3).

(2) The Mishnah makes a connection between the fifteen Songs of Ascents and the fifteen Steps of the Temple which led from the Court of Women to the Court of Israel.

And countless Levites [played] on harps, lyres, cymbals, and trumpets, and instruments of music, on the fifteen steps leading down from the Court of the Israelites to the Court of the Women, corresponding to the fifteen Songs of Ascents in the Psalms; upon them the Levites used to stand with instruments of music and make melody.⁹

True, this does not actually connect the songs with the steps. It merely notes a correspondence of number. But Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the Second Temple, confirms that there were indeed fifteen steps leading from the Court of Women to the great gate of Corinthian brass, the Nicanor Gate,¹⁰ which opened on to the Inner Court.¹¹ So the correspondence in number was apparently a real and not an imaginative one. And the link between songs and steps is noted also by Hippolytus,

⁶ A characteristic of the Ascents is repeated phrases such as *Who made the heavens and the earth* (121:2; 124:8; 134:3); *From now until eternity* (121:8; 125:2; 131:3); *Peace on Israel* (125:5; 128:6); *Yhwh bless you from Zion* (128:5; 134:3); *Hope, Israel, in Yhwh* (130:7; 131:3). That these are cultic formulae from temple worship is suggested by the fact that some of them disrupt the otherwise regular metre of their context. Those in 125:2,5; 128:5; and 130:7, for instance, greatly extend the length of their lines beyond the usual 3+2 or 3+3 metre. Habel ["Yahweh, Maker of Heaven and Earth," 321-37] reaches a similar conclusion. He suggests the phrase *Who made the heavens and the earth* is a cultic formula found in a blessing context

⁷ 121:8; 122:8; 124:8; 125:5; 126:5; 127:5; 128:1,5; 129:8; 130:7; 132:15; 133:3; 134:3. The fact that 129:8 is a blessing *not* bestowed on the wicked does not discount its being a blessing formula, which might be spoken over the faithful.

⁸ Liebreich, "The Songs of Ascents and the Priestly Blessing."

⁹ mSuk 5:4. Compare mMid 2:5 which adds that the steps 'were not four-square, but curved like the half of a round threshing-floor.' This led Armfield to suggest that the steps may have constituted the Temple orchestra [*Gradual Psalms*, 19].

¹⁰ As regards the identification of Josephus' gate of Corinthian brass with the Nicanor Gate and its position between the Court of Israel and the Court of Women on the east of the Temple, see Busink, *Der Tempel*, II:1080-2. For the Mishnaic references see mMidd 2:3, which states that all the inner gates of the Temple were overlaid with gold except the Nicanor Gate, whose bronze shone like gold. As regards its position between the Court of Israel and the Court of Women, see mShek 6:3 and mMidd 2:6 which show it as an inner gate facing east; mSot 1:5 shows it facing east at the inner side of the Court of Women, for the suspected adulteress was to be tried between it and the Eastern Gate opposite; mMidd 1:4 describes it as the eastern gate of the (inner) Temple Court, next to the chamber of the keeper of the vestments. mNeg 14:8 says the leper to be cleansed must immerse himself in the Chamber of the Lepers, in the Court of Women (mMidd 2:5) before approaching and standing at the Nicanor Gate. As the Temple had always been built facing east (Ezk 8:16), the Nicanor Gate appears to have been the one between the Court of Women and the main approach to the Temple through the Court of Israel.

¹¹ Wars, V.v.3.

writing about the same time as the redaction of the Mishnah. He states: 'there are certain Songs of Ascents, fifteen in number, the same number as the steps of the Temple.'¹² That a Christian bishop as far away as Rome was aware of this idea by about the end of the second century, suggests it was an established tradition in Israel at an earlier period, probably in Temple times. The association of the Songs of Ascents and the Temple steps in two such diverse early sources would seem to hint at a more than fortuitous numerological correspondence between them. Some real connection between them may have been perceived.¹³

Tosefta Sukkah seems to make such a connection explicit. It cites the mishnaic passage and states that the Songs of Ascents were actually sung at the time when the Levites stood upon the Temple steps.

And Levites [played] on harps, lyres, cymbals, and all sorts of musical instruments [on the fifteen steps, etc.] (mSuk 5:4). What did they sing? A Song of Ascents. Come, bless Yhwh, all you servants of Yhwh, who stand by night in the house of Yhwh (Ps 134:1). Some of them would sing, Lift up your hands to the holy place and bless Yhwh (Ps 134:2). And when they departed from one another, what did they say? Yhwh bless you from Zion, who made the heavens and the earth (Ps 134:3).¹⁴

This idea was known also to Nicholas of Lyra and Jacob Leonitius.¹⁵ Kimhi goes further, saying that the Levites sang one psalm on each of the fifteen steps, possibly envisaging a sort of stylised pilgrimage up or down the steps toward the Temple.¹⁶ There may be some basis for this in the Mishnah, whose description of the singing of the Ascents, cited above, proceeds as follows.

Two priests stood at the upper gate [the Nicanor Gate] which leads down from the Court of Israel to the Court of Women, with two trumpets in their hands. At cock-crow they blew a sustained, a quavering and another sustained blast. When they reached the tenth step they again blew a sustained, a quavering and another sustained blast. When they reached the Court [of Women] they again blew a sustained, a quavering and another sustained blast. They went on until they reached the gate that leads out to the east.¹⁷

¹² πάλιν τε αὐτοῦ εἰσι τινες τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ὧδαί, τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντεκαίδεκα, ὅσοι καὶ οἱ ἀναβαθμοὶ τοῦ ναοῦ [de Lagarde, *Hippolytus Romanus*, 190].

¹³ Even if the Ascents heading were pre-exilic in origin, this possibility would not necessarily be precluded. For Ezekiel's ideal temple has fifteen steps, even if not arranged as in the Second Temple (Ezk 40:22,24,31,37). This numerical coincidence with the Second Temple may suggest that the ideal of fifteen temple steps is an ancient one, possibly deriving from memories of the First Temple.

¹⁴ tSuk 4:7-9.

¹⁵ Lyra, *Postille*; Leonitius in his Hebrew *Libellus effigiei templi Salomonis* (Amsterdam, 1650).

¹⁶ Comm. on Ps 120 [Baker and Nicholson, 3].

¹⁷ mSuk 5:4.

What is described here seems to be a cultic and ritual procession down the fifteen steps at dawn during the Feast of Sukkoth. The immediately preceding description of the singing of the Ascents on these steps suggests the two events were related. As we shall see below, the Ascents themselves do seem to represent in literary terms an ascent and descent to the Feast. It is possible that the idea of singing successive psalms on each step is not without foundation. But whether or not the actual singing of the Ascents on the Temple steps is only an imaginative expansion of the Mishnaic tradition, all these commentators show that Jewish tradition from early times perceived a link between the fifteen 'Songs of the Steps' and the fifteen steps of the Temple.

A second possible interpretation of **המעלות** is that which renders it *ascents* of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The singular **מעלה** occurs in this sense at Ezra 7:9, and the verb **עלה** is used in this way both within the Ascents collection (122:4) and commonly elsewhere.¹⁸ Apart from that **עלה** has a wide range of related meanings: ascent to the land of Israel,¹⁹ to the temple,²⁰ and to God,²¹ and offering of sacrifice.²² All these usages seem to be aspects of the one great spatial metaphor of ascent, which derives from the belief that supernatural beings dwell in supraterrrestrial dimensions.²³ This led to natural elevations being chosen as sites for temples, and for shrines of all sorts.²⁴ This led in turn to the confirmation of the metaphor in the physical act of ascending to these shrines. Thus ascent to the land of Israel, Zion, the temple, and the offering of sacrifices could all be included under the **מעלות** heading, indicating one great movement of ascent to the divine presence. Indeed, in later Judaism, the term designates God's dwelling place.²⁵ It is this movement toward God's presence which is enacted by the pilgrim who goes to worship in Zion.

¹⁸ 1 Ki 12:28; Ezra 1:3; 2:1,59; 7:7; 8:1; Neh 7:5,6,61; 12:1; Ps 24:3; Isa 2:3; Jer 31:6; Mic 4:2; Zech 14:17-19; 2 Chr 36:23. It is also commonly used for the approach of attacking armies to Jerusalem (2 Ki 18:17,25; 24:10; Isa 7:1; 36:1,10; 37:24; Jer 4:13-14; Ezk 38:9,162 Chr 12:2,9; 24:23; 36:6). Such approaches are not pilgrimage. Nonetheless, the approach to Jerusalem is regarded as an *ascent*.

¹⁹ Gen 46:4; Dt 1:21; 9:23; Judg 11:13,16; 19:30; 1 Sam 15:1,6; 2 Sam 2:1; 2 Ki 18:13; 2 Ki 24:1; 2 Chr 16:1; 21:17; Isa 7:6; Ezk 38:11; *et passim*. See too the *hiphil* form used in the common phrase, *brought you up out of the land of Egypt* (Ex 32:1,4,7,8,23 *et passim*).

²⁰ 2 Ki 19:14; 20:5,8; 23:2; Isa 37:14; 38:22; 2 Chr 9:4; 29:20; 34:30.

²¹ Ex 19:3,24; 34:2.

²² Lev 14:20; Judg 6:26; 11:31; 1 Sam 2:28; 2 Ki 3:20; Isa 57:7; 60:7; 1 Chr 16:2,40; 21:24; 23:31 *et passim*.

²³ Ex 2:23; 2 Ki 19:28; Isa 14:12-14; 37:29; 57:15; Am 9:6; Ps 103:19 *et passim*.

²⁴ Dt 17:8; 1 Sam 1:3,7,22; 2:19; 9:14; Hos 4:15.

²⁵ See, for instance, the Memorial Prayer for the Dead, **אל מלא רחמים**, dating probably from the Second Temple period, which locates the dwelling of the *Shekhinah* **קדושין וטהורים במעלות** [Forms of Prayer, 300-303].

Thus the **מעלות** heading seems to connect the collection with temple worship. The lyrics of Ps 122 provide more specific information about their cultic context. Ps 122:3-4 says of Jerusalem, *There the tribes ascend* [עלו], *the tribes of Yah; [this is] a statute for Israel, to thank the name of Yhwh*. Such a description suggests the three appointed feasts, Passover, Weeks, and Tabernacles or *Sukkoth*, legislated in the Pentateuch (Ex 23:14-17; 34:18-24; Lev 23:4-44; Dt 16:1-17). The verb עלה is used of pilgrimage to the feasts at one of their earliest descriptions (Ex 34:23).²⁶ *The tribes of Yah* would well describe those in attendance at the feasts, for every male Israelite was required to attend (Ex 34:23; Dt 16:16). Similarly, the statement that the ascent of the tribes is *a statute for Israel to thank the name of Yhwh* (122:4) would appear to suggest an association with the appointed feasts. For the Pentateuch represents them as divinely ordained statutes with the purpose of thanksgiving to Yhwh. Their Hebrew designation, **מעדים** *mo'edim*, is cognate with **עדות** *statute* in Ps 122:4.

Several points suggest the Ascents were associated not only with the appointed feasts in general, but with the Feast of Sukkoth in particular:

(1) The Chronicler's description of the ark's entry to Solomon's Temple contains a passage almost identical to Ascents Ps 132:8-10 (2 Chr 6:41-2). Presumably he is borrowing either from this ancient psalm or from an older tradition common to both.²⁷ As the ark's entry to the Temple is said to have taken place at the festival of the seventh month, that is, the Feast of Sukkoth (1 Ki 8:1-2; 2 Chr 5:2-3), an association seems to have existed between this psalm and that feast. Since, as we shall see below, the entire Ascents collection apparently depicts one festal period, the Sukkoth association would apply to the other Ascents lyrics as well.

(2) The predominant imagery in the collection is of harvest, vintage, and general fertility (126:6; 127:3-5; 128:3 129:6-7; 132:15). This is particularly appropriate to the harvest feast Sukkoth, also known as the Harvest Ingathering or *Asiph* (Ex 34:22). Indeed, this would be the kind of imagery expected in a collection of songs for worship at harvest time.

²⁶ Commentators generally regard Ex 23:14-17 as the oldest biblical reference to the appointed feasts [de Vaux, *Early History*, 470-74, 484-506; Kraus, *Worship*, 26-70; Durham, *Exodus*, 332-3]. However, Ex 34:23 is likely to be of similar antiquity. Note that both passages describe the feast as 'the Ingathering' (אסיף), a name not used in later texts, which prefer 'Sukkoth'.

²⁷ The antiquity of Ps 132 is noted by a number of commentators. Dahood, for instance, remarks, 'this royal psalm appears to have been composed in the tenth century as part of the liturgy for the feast when the ark was carried in procession to Jerusalem' [*Psalms*, III:241]. The passage in question (Ps 132:8-10) bears some similarity to the Song of the Ark (Num 10:35-6), reckoned to be among the most ancient of Hebrew lyrics [Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 25], and may have been influenced by it.

(3) Zech 14 depicts all nations ascending to celebrate the Feast of Sukkoth in Jerusalem after the eschatological war. Its fivefold use of עֲלֶה (vv.16,17,18,18,19) in connection with threefold reference to Sukkoth (16,18,19) shows a connection existed between the *ascent* motif and the feast in biblical times. If it originated with Zech 14, it would colour all subsequent traditions regarding the feast. In that case, the psalm heading would be a purposeful evocation of Sukkoth, and even Zech 14. On the other hand, if the heading predates Zech 14, the prophetic writer is employing an *ascent* motif already well-established in connection with the Feast.

(4) The passage mSuk 5:1-6 describes the celebration of the Feast in Temple times, and indicates that the Songs of Ascents were sung in the Temple then (mSuk 5:4). Likewise, Ps 134:1 refers to a night service in the temple. The only such service referred to in rabbinic literature took place during Sukkoth (mSuk 5:2-4), and Ps 134 is said to have been sung at that very time (tSuk 4:7).

Therefore the heading of the Songs of Ascents and internal factors in the collection seem to connect them with Temple worship at the Feast of Sukkoth. This is confirmed by early rabbinic and Christian traditions. They may have been sung at the feast by Levites standing on the temple steps, as rabbinic traditions state. They may also have been sung by pilgrims going to and from the feast, who earlier heard them in the temple, as more recent commentators suggest.²⁸

II. Eschatological Orientation.

The Songs of Ascents, considered apart from their heading, contain no clear evidence that they are intentionally eschatological. Ps 132 does refer to Yhwh's *mashiah* (vv.10,17), but there is no indication that this is necessarily an eschatological figure. However, a case might be made for suggesting that the *ma'alot* heading, whenever it may have been added, would encourage an eschatological reading of the whole group. We noted above that the term *ma'alot* appears to associate the Songs of Ascents with the Feast of Sukkoth. Now, the latter part of Zechariah 14 depicts all nations ascending to Jerusalem to celebrate Sukkoth in the latter days. The key word in this passage is the verb עֲלֶה, which occurs five times in four verses (14:16-19), a prominence unparalleled elsewhere in the Bible.

²⁸ Briggs, *Psalms*, lxxix; Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen*, 73; *Introducing the Psalms*, 118, suggest the Ascents formed a *vademecum* or a hymnal for pilgrims.

The eschatological tone of Zech 14 is striking. It opens by predicting *לִיהוּדָה* ... יוֹם (14:1) and the eschatological slogan *בְּיוֹם הַהוּא* occurs throughout.²⁹ There is abundant use of future tenses, and the events described are of an ultimate nature. The Lord will appear from heaven with all the holy ones and strike the attacking nations with plague, so they decompose on their feet (14:3-5, 12-15). There will be great terrestrial and celestial upheaval (14:4-7). Jerusalem will be rebuilt, never again to be destroyed, and living water will flow from it (14:8-11). Yhwh's universal *malkut* will be established over all the earth, and all nations will worship him (14:9, 16-21). Jerusalem, like an Aaronic high-priest in the earth, will be *קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה* in every part (14:20; cf. Ex 39:30). The chapter's eschatological reference is confirmed by its being recognized by early interpreters. The apocalyptic texts Enoch 1:9 and 1QM XII.1-7 refer to the holy ones coming with the Lord, apparently alluding to Zech 14:5, the only biblical passage where such language occurs. The supernatural *מְהוּמָה* which routs the nations at 1QM 1.5 and 4.7 seems to allude to Zech 14:13. Acts 1:11 predicts the return of the Christian divine messiah to the Mount of Olives, an idea probably deriving from Zech 14:4. 1 Thess 3:13 predicts his return with the holy ones, apparently in reference to Zech 14:5. The ὁδοῦτος ζῶντος of Jn 7:38 and the ποταμὸν ὁδοῦτος ζῶντος of Rev 22:1 seem to connote Zech 14:8's *מִיַּם-חַיִּים*. And Jesus' driving the merchants from the Temple seems to have been intended to assert that he was the fulfilment of the prediction in Zech 14:21, based on the non-gentilic understanding of *כְּנַעֲנִי*: *There will no longer be a trader in the house of Yhwh*.³⁰ The eschatological significance of the Mount of Olives in other early texts seems to derive from Zech 14:4.³¹ The Codex Reuchlinianus text of the Targum to Zechariah inserts the resurrection of the dead at 14:4. Rabbinic texts frequently cite Zech 14 in messianic or eschatological contexts.³² Modern commentators also remark upon the eschatological tone of this chapter, or of the whole of Zech 9-14.³³

²⁹ Zech 14:4, 6, 8, 13, 20, 21. Smith notes the eschatological import of this phrase [*Micah-Malachi*, 39].

³⁰ Dodd, *Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 300.

³¹ T.Naph 5:1f; Josephus, *War*, II.261-63; cf. *Ant.* XX.170.

³² For instance, Zech 14:1 at EcclR 5.7.1; Zech 14:2 at SongR 6.10.1; RuthR 5.6. Zech 14:2-3 at MidTeh 18.5; Zech 14:3,9 at LevR 27.11=EstR 7.23 (similar to *Mekhilta Amalek Beshallah* 2); Zech 14:4 at *Abot R. Nat* 34; Zech 14:5 at RuthR 2; EcclR 1.11.1; SongR 4.11.1. Zech 14:8 at GenR 48:10. Zech 14:9 at SongR 2.13.4. Zech 14:10 at BB 75b; SongR 7.5.3.

³³ Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 152-157; Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 64; Hanson, *Dawn*, 280ff; Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 44, 57.

The writer of Zech 14 connects the Feast of Sukkoth with Yhwh's end time victory and *malkut*.³⁴ In so doing he established a connection between Sukkoth and the latterday *malkut* which influenced later generations' ideas regarding the feast. Thus the Qumran fragments 4Q.508.2 and 4Q509.3 connect Yom Kippur, preceding Sukkot, with the ingathering of Israel from exile. Rev 7:9 depicts the redeemed of all the world holding palm branches, a custom associated with Sukkoth (Lev 23:40; mSuk 3:1 ff.). Ta'an 2a contains a discussion on Sukkoth, rain, and the resurrection of the dead. In Mid Teh 118.1 occurs the idea that judgment will take place on New Year's Day. Zech 14 may or may not have existed when the Ascents received their common heading, but it is likely to have been known by the Psalter's redactors. To them the *ma'alot* heading would connect the Ascents with the eschatological events of Zechariah. The mere predominance of the verb עלה in both texts, seventeen times in the Ascents,³⁵ and five times in four verses in Zech 14:16-19, would encourage comparisons between them, and the Sukkoth associations of both texts would confirm the connection. This association of the Ascents with the eschatological events of Zech 14 is confirmed by Kimhi, who notes that the *ma'alot* title refers to the ingathering of the exiles in the time to come, and cites Zechariah in that regard.³⁶

Other texts employ the verb עלה in reference to the gathering of all nations to Zion in the eschatological *malkut*. Most prominent is the passage from Isa 2:1-5 and Mic 4:1-5 where the nations declare, 'Come, let us ascend the mountain of Yhwh!' (Isa 2:3; Mic 4:2). Micah 2:13 also employs עלה in the context of ascent to Jerusalem at the latterday ingathering.³⁷ It is cited as an eschatological prophecy in later Judaism. Such passages, together with Zech 14, would seem to indicate that the verb עלה came to be associated with an anticipated eschatological ascent to worship on Zion. If so, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that the מעלות heading which these psalms bear in the Psalter confers on them at least the possibility of being read as a description of the eschatological Feast of Sukkoth, described in Zech 14:16-19.

³⁴ It is interesting to surmise whether this connection might not predate Zech 14, and be an older, possibly Canaanite, idea, in which the end of harvest was typological of the end of the age. Note that the Canaanite (and old Hebrew) name for the seventh month, the month Tishri in later Hebrew, was Ethanim, that is, *perpetuity* [BDB, 450].

³⁵ 122:4; 132:3; and in all fifteen psalm headings.

³⁶ Comm. on Ps 120.

³⁷ It is depicted as having an eschatological fulfilment at NRSbY 38.

III. Narrative Sequence.

If the **מעלות** heading allows these to be read as depicting an ascent to the eschatological Feast of Sukkoth, the contents of the collection are quite appropriate to such an interpretation. The existence of an event-sequence in the Ascents has been noted by a number of commentators.³⁸ There is no consensus about exactly what form this event-sequence takes, but all see it as in some way representing an ascent to worship in Jerusalem. We would suggest something like the following.

Ps 120. The weariness of exile. The exiled Yhwhist lives in a violent and hostile environment, which he calls *Meshekh* and *Kedar* (v.5). These regions symbolised death by archery. From *Meshekh* came the Scythians, bowmen whose cruelty was proverbial in Israel (2 Macc 4:47; 3 Macc 7:5; 4 Macc 10:7).³⁹ The Ishmaelite warriors of *Kedar* were also famed as archers (Isa 21:17). As the psalmist could not have lived in both places simultaneously, the two nations are probably figurative for hostile neighbours in any place. The psalmist may also be using *Meshekh* and *Kedar*, *Japhethites* and *Semites* respectively, merismically, in order to indicate all nations in their hostility to scattered Israel. But whoever these hostile neighbours are, even their slander is like archery. Their tongue is **רמיה**, which can mean both *deceitful* or *shooting arrows*.⁴⁰ Their recompense will befit those whose mouths shoot destruction: Yhwh will give them *sharp-toothed* (**שנונים**) *arrows* (v.4). The psalmist is weary of this hostile pagan environment. He is only a stranger there (**גור**, v.5); it is not his home. In the step parallelism of vv.5-7 the turning of his thoughts to pilgrimage to Zion can be detected.

Ps 121. The pilgrimage to Zion. The title is **שיר למעלות**, not **המעלות**, like the rest of the group. So this is a song not of the pilgrim-ascents, but a pilgrim song for the actual ascents. The pilgrim travelling upward through the Judean foothills raises his eyes to the mountains of Zion, and affirms that his helper on pilgrimage is Yhwh (vv.1-2). It is he who keeps from stumbling on the road, shades from burning sun and baleful moon, protects from all harm, and guards coming and going (vv.3-8). The sixfold repetition of **שמר** with Yhwh as the object and the insistence on his

³⁸ Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*. Lomm xiii. 107; Neale and Littledale, 115; Forbes, *Studies*, 190-2; Cox, *Pilgrim Psalms*, 308-9; Manatti, "Les psaumes graduels," 87.

³⁹ 'During the first millennium BC groups of peoples known successively as Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians . . . penetrated over the Caucasus and into north-eastern Anatolia' [Barraclough (ed.), *Times Atlas*, 60].

⁴⁰ This interpretation is from Grossberg [*Structures*, 24], who notes that **רמה** bears the sense of *shooting arrows* at Jer 4:29 and Ps 78:9. There is a notable parallel between this passage and Jer 9:7(8) where the tongue is compared to an arrow that speaks with deceit (**מרמה**), and *each one speaks peace to his neighbour, but in his heart sets a trap for him*. Elsewhere in the Bible the tongue is compared to a bow that shoots arrows of falsehood (Jer 9:2[3]; Prov 26:18ff).

wakefulness, emphasize the divine protective power. This psalm has the most pronounced step parallelism of all the Ascents, vividly representing in literary terms the pilgrim's weary upward trudge.

Ps 122. The joyful arrival at Jerusalem. The pilgrim reflects on his gladness when first encouraged to go to Zion, and stands still in the gate savouring the moment of their arrival (vv.1-2). With one deliberate step, represented by the step parallelism of the repeated *Jerusalem* (vv.2-3), he enters the city. Gazing at its strong and wondrous buildings, he contemplates its significance. It is Yhwh's dwelling on earth, and the seat of the Davidic king who reigns and dispenses justice there. There the tribes of Yah, apparently politically unified, ascend to keep the appointed feast as commanded (vv.3-5). The words *shalom* and *Yerushalayim* are prominent, suggesting that ירושלים is עיר שלום.⁴¹ In v.6 the two words produce a sequence of sibilant *sh* and *l* sounds, like the peaceful sounds used for pacifying young children. The psalm closes with the rhyming quatrain requesting peace and prosperity on the city (vv.6-9).

Ps 123. Prayer for national blessing. The pilgrim, possibly in the Temple, now lifts his eyes directly *to you*, to Yhwh, and no longer to *the hills* as on his pilgrimage. The psalmist's impassioned prayer is that Yhwh will have mercy on them. What form this is to take is not specified, but the references in vv.3-4 to their recent humiliation, presumably at foreign hands, suggest that national prosperity and restoration are envisaged. If the collection is treated sequentially, then this foreign oppression must have preceded the Davidic rule referred to in Ps 122 (vv.3-4). These songs are set in the immediate aftermath of the victory of *bet-David*, when the Davidic throne is secure, but national restoration is not yet complete. There is no request for divine action against the oppressor, which suggests that, although the oppression has been sore, it has completely ceased.

Ps 124. Thanksgiving for national deliverance. This psalm further describes the nature of Israel's recent troubles. *Men rose up* against them with hot anger, like voracious beasts and proud, overwhelming waters (vv.2-5). The waters imagery probably signifies here, as elsewhere in Psalms, foreign nations (cf. Ps 65:8[7]). Aletti and Trublet recognize anti-creation motifs here, representing the nations as agents of chaos determined to overthrow God's creation, Israel, and thwart his *heilsgeschichtliche* purpose.⁴² So overwhelming was this attack that Israel would have been completely consumed, if Yhwh had not been with them to deliver them. There is no request for deliverance from continuing threat. Deliverance is complete and total. Nothing remains but to give thanks for their miraculous deliverance.

⁴¹ Schökel and Strus note the word-play on *Jerusalem* in this psalm ["Canto al nombre," 234-50].

⁴² Aletti & Trublet, *Approche poétique*, 248-9.

Ps 125. An affirmation of Yhwh's protection of the faithful. The lack of prayer for deliverance from enemies and the peaceful confident tone suggest that this psalm, like the foregoing ones, regards Israel's deliverance as total and complete. In that case, יִנְרֹחַ (v.3) should not be understood as an assertion that foreign rule will not *remain* in Israel (so NIV). Rather, it states a general principle, exemplified in the recent deliverance, that though evil may attack, its rule will not *rest* upon Israel (RSV, NRS). Yhwh will rescue Israel from all domination of evil, and will lead away with the evildoers any Israelite who turns to crooked ways (v.5).

Ps 126. Prayer for ongoing blessing. This psalm, like Ps 123, suggests that, though Israel has been delivered, national restoration is incomplete. Its two strophes each begin with a *Ketiv-Qere* referring to Yhwh's *restoring our fortunes* or *bringing back our captivity* (vv.1,4). There probably is no way to determine which reading is preferable in each case, nor any need to. For the two are one, the return of the exiles being the chief feature of Israel's reversal of fortune. The voice of the ingathered people tells of their laughter and joy when Yhwh restored their fortunes (vv.1-2). Even the nations recounted Yhwh's great deed on Israel's behalf (vv.2-3). However, restoration is incomplete. Possibly some exiles have not yet returned. Possibly rebuilding is necessary. A plea is made that Yhwh turn all their fortunes to good (v.4). The psalm ends with an affirmation that sorrows turn to joy: the labour of ingathering the exiles and national restoration, like the labour of harvest, brings glorious rewards (vv.5-6).

Ps 127. Building with Yhwh. This responds to Ps 126's prayer for restoration by affirming that it is possible only with divine assistance. The psalm turns on the metaphorical relation between building cities and children, emphasized by the similar sounds of בָּנָה and בָּנִים.⁴³ Therefore the phrase *build the house* (v.1) covers many enterprises. Miller lists them as: building Zion (Pss 102:16; 147:2), or the sanctuary (Ps 78:69), the palace (1 Ki 7:1) or the Temple (2 Sam 7:13), the Davidic dynasty (2 Sam 7:11f), or any family by human procreation (Dt 25:9; Ruth 4:11).⁴⁴ All these endeavours are good, for otherwise there were no possibility of Yhwh's assistance. And with his blessing the rebuilding will lead to national, cultic, civil, and domestic prosperity and peace (vv.3-5). The heading לְשִׁלְמָה points to that king in whose time Israel knew her greatest ever prosperity, and who built the first temple. If this psalm indicates one particular activity in the latterday period, it would surely be that of building the temple of the messianic time, referred to in Ezk 40ff.

⁴³ This word play was familiar in Israel. It occurs also in the Talmud, which comments on Isa 54:13: 'Do not say, *your children*, but rather, *your builders*' (Ber 64a).

⁴⁴ Miller, *Interpreting the Psalms*, 132

Ps 128. How to obtain Yhwh's blessing. Commentators note the similarity of this psalm to the preceding one.⁴⁵ Both mention progeny and fruitful labour. They share vocabulary: גבר, אשרי, פרי, בית, and בנים. Both begin with a general statement in the third person singular and move to specifics in the second person singular. Both have two strophes, the second beginning with הנה. Miller notes that the last two lines of each combine city and household.⁴⁶ But their similarity invites comparison of their differences. While Ps 127 asserts that civic welfare is unattainable without Yhwh's blessing, Ps 128 shows the way to obtaining this blessing. It is by individuals fearing Yhwh and walking in his ways, that is, avoiding what he forbids and doing what he commands. This will lead to fruitful and peaceful domestic life, which in turn will lead to security for city and nation (vv.5-6). The psalm is not only an instruction, but a fertility blessing on the worshippers, appropriate to the Feast of Tabernacles (vv.2-3).

Ps 129. Thanksgiving for national deliverance. This resembles Ps 124 in recalling divine deliverance from foreign oppression. The thematic similarity is reinforced by literary similarities, such as the phrase, *let Israel now say*, which occurs only in the first verse of these two psalms. The principal difference between the two psalms seems to be one of distance from the deliverance. Ps 124's emphasis on the scale of the threat and Israel's nigh destruction suggests the psalmist is still stunned by the impression of a recent cataclysm. Ps 129 takes a longer view. It says less of the recent threat, but contemplates Israel's sorrows from youth, and Yhwh's continual deliverances. There is a minimizing of affliction. The slave-drivers' lashes are furrows which the ploughmen have ploughed על-גבי *upon my hill or my back*. Such punning on past sorrows suggests temporal and psychological distance from them. There is a malediction on the haters of Zion. But it is mild, only a non-blessing. This is the malediction not of one presently or even recently crushed, but of one who has prospered and may regard past afflictions philosophically. This different approach to past sorrows suggests that the rebuilding is underway and that Zion is prospering.

Ps 130. A reminiscence of deliverance. This psalm may be taken as a thanksgiving for deliverance, if קראתיך (v.1) is taken as past tense, and v.2 as the psalmist's citation of the words spoken in distress.

*Out of the depths I cried to you, Yhwh: "My Lord, hear my voice!
Let your ears be attentive to the sound of my supplications!"*

⁴⁵ Cohen, *Psalms*, 430; Keet, *Ascents*, 64; Mannati, "Les psaumes graduels," 96; Miller, *Interpreting*, 136.

⁴⁶ Miller, *Interpreting*, 136.

The quote may finish at v.2, or, alternatively, continue to the end of v.4. This interpretation of v.2 as a citation of past speech is supported by several points. First, LXX renders קראתִיךָ as aorist ἐκέκραξα σε. Second, citation of significant past speech is a stylistic feature elsewhere in the Ascents.⁴⁷ Third, the cry is from מעמקים, *the depths*, precisely the opposite place to his present location, המעלות, *the ascents/heights*. Presumably then, the cry does not originate from his present situation, but is a reminiscence from a former one. Thus this psalm, like Pss 124 and 129, could recall the deliverance from the attack of the hostile nations. The יפדה of the final line need not indicate only a future hope. It could be a general statement of a truth, experienced in the recent deliverance and in the ongoing reconstruction: *It is he who redeems Israel out of all his sins*.

Ps 131. Humble trust in Yhwh. The psalmist, likening himself to a child contented upon its mother,⁴⁸ renounces pride and haughtiness in favour of humble trust in Yhwh. 'The faithful human creature, like a small baby has no inclination for autonomy.'⁴⁹ This psalm and its predecessor are linked by the phrase, *Trust, Israel, in Yhwh*. The linkage is appropriate, just as humble trust should naturally follow redemption from sin and judgment. If interpreted as referring to the community, it suggests that Israel's experience of forgiveness, in Ps 130, has led to a spiritual state of tranquility and humble contentment.

Ps 132. Yhwh's entry to the latterday temple and a Davidic mashiah. There are two ten-line strophes, each beginning *verb + Yhwh + David* (vv.1,11). The first tells of David's labour for Yhwh's house; the second pronounces Yhwh's irrevocable promise to David and his descendants. This evokes 2 Sam 7, where David's wish to build Yhwh a house is answered by Yhwh's promise to build a house, that is, a dynasty, for David. The narrative, if not the historical, context of the psalm is the ark's entry to the

⁴⁷ This feature is evident at 122:2; 126:2; 132:2-4, 11-12. A similar feature is the eliciting of citations or responses, as at 121:1,2; 122:6-9; 124:1-2; 129:1-2, possibly 132:6-9, and in all the formulaic dicta. The aorist ἐκέκραξα of LXX Ps 119:1 (MT Ps 120) suggests the opening lines of Ps 120 should be interpreted in the same way as those of Ps 130, making Ps 120:1-2 another example of significant past speech in the Ascents.

⁴⁸ There has been controversy over the significance of גמל, *a weaned child*, in v.2. Delitzsch [*Psalms*, 303] and Weiser [*Psalms*, 777] suggest that as a weaned child seeks the mother not for milk, but for her own sake, so the psalmist seeks God not for his blessings, but for himself. Van Gemeren ["Psalm 131:2," 56-7] thinks such views pedantically literal. He maintains that too much has been made of the distinction between suckling and weaned child. The word may denote an older child or a satisfied suckling or infant. It is an affective simile intended to produce feelings of quietness and would be better rendered *a contented child*.

⁴⁹ Brueggemann, *The Message*, 49.

Temple (v.8).⁵⁰ In response to a petition (vv.9-10), a divine oracle announces Yhwh's desire to dwell there for ever and to bless people, priests, and Davidic king (vv.15-18). In the context of the eschatological interpretation of the Songs of Ascents which we are suggesting may have been envisaged by the Psalter's redactors, this might refer to Yhwh's entry to the latterday temple, whose construction was referred to in Ps 127. The blessing upon the Davidic *mashiah* would be understood as referring to the latterday Davidic hero-king spoken of by the prophets.

Ps 133. Reunited Israel goes down from the Feast. Allen notes that the phrase: שבת אחים גם-יחד refers to the custom of the extended family where brothers dwelt on the undivided patrimony after marriage.⁵¹ Berlin draws out the implications of the metaphor.

The image is not one of a quarrel free family snuggling round the hearth, but of undivided land holdings. This is a metaphor for an undivided kingdom. The psalm expresses a hope for the reunification of the north and the south with Jerusalem as the capital of a united kingdom.⁵²

Such a view is supported by the image of *the dew of Hermon which comes down on the mountains of Zion*, which might suggest the people of the northern kingdom coming to Jerusalem. The imagery of the psalm is characterised by a threefold use of ירד describing fragrant oil descending on the beard and clothes of the father of the Aaronic priesthood. The imagery would appear to indicate Yhwh's blessing descending upon the priesthood, the cult, and the nation. As the Israelites anticipate going down from the feast, Yhwh's blessing will go before them. Like the high priest, reunited Israel has received the divine anointing at the feast, enabling them to go down and fulfil their ordained role of being a nation of priests to the world (Ex 19:6). Note that the descent imagery of this, the penultimate Ascents psalm, corresponds to the ascent imagery of the second Ascent psalm.

Ps 134. A parting benediction from people to priests. The verb עבד often specifies priestly Temple service. Similarly, עמד has a recognized usage as *standing to perform priestly service* (Dt 10:8; 18:7; 1 Chr 23:30). Thus, as Cohen notes, the phrases כל-עבדי יהוה and העמדים בבית-יהוה denote priestly ministry in the Temple.⁵³ The psalm concludes with a blessing (v.3), which, given its cultic language, would appear to be from priests to people. (Blessing the Israelites was a priestly

⁵⁰ Dahood notes that 'the language of the psalm is extremely archaic' [*Psalms*, III:242]. He regards it as 'composed in the tenth century as part of the liturgy for the feast when the ark was carried in procession to Jerusalem' [241].

⁵¹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 212.

⁵² Berlin, "Psalm 133," 141.

⁵³ Cohen, *Psalms*, 440.

function [Num 6:22ff], and there are two formulaic phrases in this one verse.⁵⁴) Thus it would be reasonable to regard vv.1 and 2 as an exhortation to the priests to bless Yhwh, and v.3 as the priestly blessing on the people. This is a fitting closure to this benedictive collection. The departing worshippers exhort the priests to ongoing Temple worship to secure Yhwh's blessing on Israel. In return they receive Yhwh's blessing from the priests.

There might be some disagreement about the details of the above sequence, but it shows the ease with which the Songs of Ascents can be read as a narrative sequence of latterday events. We would suggest that this is more than accidental. The hand that arranged these psalms in this order surely intended some kind of narrative progression in the final sequence.

Before leaving the question of the narrative sequence of the Ascents, it is worth considering the view of Origen. He envisages something rather different from the above. It is worth quoting in full.

The first Song of Ascents [Ps 120] was recited among the people whenever the enemy was expected:

The second [Ps 121] when they were making preparations and needing allies:

The third [Ps 122] after they had fought with the enemy and got the better of them:

The fourth [Ps 123] when they were hoping for victory at the end:

The fifth [Ps 124] after success:

The sixth [Ps 125] when they were returning:

The seventh [Ps 126] when they had returned:

The eighth [Ps 127] while they were constructing the Temple:

The ninth [Ps 128] after they had attained peace, giving a description of the happy man, because they had received back their friends and were happy with them:

The tenth [Ps 129] as they were enjoying deep peace. They say that they had been many times at war, but that the enemy had never overpowered them:

The eleventh [Ps 130] when they had now leisure for the things of God and comprehended their depths:

The twelfth [Ps 131] as not being elated by their knowledge:

The thirteenth [Ps 132] as a prayer for the restoration of the Anointed:

The fourteenth [Ps 133] for the restoration of the church:

The fifteenth [Ps 134] on their duty of hastening to the house of God, standing therein, and blessing him, raising their hands to the sanctuary, that they also may be blessed of the Lord.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ יברכך יהוה מציון, also found at 128:5, and עשה שמים וארץ, also at 121:2 and 124:8. We noted above that these, and other similar formulaic phrases, are a characteristic literary feature of the Ascents, suggesting their use in Temple worship.

⁵⁵ Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*. Lomm. xiii. 107. English translation based on Tollinton, *Selections*, 99-101.

What is truly striking about Origen's sequence is that he interprets Pss 120-125 as concerning war against Israel by foreign invaders. This is the more remarkable as his comments appear to bear little relation to the content of these six psalms. Where, for instance, in Ps 121 is there any reference to preparation for war and needing allies? Or why should Origen connect Ps 122 with triumphing over the enemy in the battlefield (for, in his schema, the return to the city is not until Ps 125), when the narrative context of the psalm seems to be Jerusalem (v.2)? Is there any explanation for this peculiar interpretation of the Songs of Ascents? Origen, according to his own testimony, studied Hebrew from his youth, before writing even his earliest books.⁵⁶ He often listened to Jewish exegetes and sometimes discussed interpretations current in rabbinic circles with a convert from Judaism.⁵⁷ Could it be that Origen was aware that Jewish interpretation associated the Songs of Ascents with the aftermath of a foreign invasion, and, under the influence of this idea, but unaware of its details, constructed this unlikely narrative sequence? It is possible. But, if the full explanation eludes us, we note that this ancient commentator, acquainted with Jewish exegesis, sets the beginning of the Songs of Ascents in the context of an attack of foreign nations against Jerusalem. In so doing, he would appear to endorse our own suggestions above, that certain Songs of Ascents describe deliverance from an overwhelming attack of foreign nations.

IV. Summary.

A group analysis of the Songs of Ascents reveals several characteristics. First, they seem to be connected with worship at the Feast of Sukkoth. This is confirmed by rabbinic tradition. Second, when the *ma'alot* heading is considered in the context of the prophetic writings, the group appears to depict an ascent to Sukkoth, not in historical, but in eschatological time, in the latterday *malkut*. Third, a narrative sequence is discernable in the group. This indicates that Israel is dwelling in peace following recent divine deliverance from a massive foreign attack. Thus the Songs of Ascents resemble the Psalms of Asaph in that both can be read as representing an eschatological ingathering to Jerusalem. But they differ in that the Asaph group depicts a distressed ingathering to judgment and war, while the Ascents depict a joyful ascent to the Feast of Sukkoth in the aftermath of war. In the next chapter we shall make a more direct comparison of corresponding aspects of the two psalm groups, which will further highlight these characteristics.

⁵⁶ *De Prin.* IV.iii.14 (GCS Origen V:346).

⁵⁷ *In Jer.* Hom. xx.2 (GCS Origen III:178); *Epis. Afric.* 7,8.

V. The Ingathering of God.¹

In the preceding chapters we suggested that the Psalms of Asaph can be read as showing a sequence which progresses from the ingathering of Israel to ultimate war, while the Songs of Ascents can be read as describing an ascent to a latterday Feast of Sukkoth in the aftermath of war. In this chapter I shall investigate the eschatology of the biblical prophets, to see whether they display any motifs similar to those of the Asaph and Ascents collections. I shall then suggest that they display a threefold sequence of ingatherings which forms a simple eschatological programme. Then, in the following chapter, I shall relate these findings to the motifs and themes of the two psalm-cycles.

The motif of eschatological ingathering has been somewhat neglected by modern scholarship.² Why this should be is unclear. Maybe Widengren is right in suggesting that recent Old Testament research, in its preoccupation with Form Criticism and literary *Gattungen*, has been unable to see a theme that appears in diverse genres.³ Or it might be, as Gowan suggests, that preoccupation with Messiah has marginalised other eschatological motifs.⁴ Both may be right. But even Jewish scholarship, which might be expected to be less concerned with messianism and literary *Gattungen*, and more with the ingathering of Israel, is weak on the subject. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* article 'Ingathering' is unusual in having no bibliography whatsoever, presumably reflecting the dearth of literature on the subject.⁵ If the ingathering motif has been neglected, the whole idea of an eschatological programme or sequence of events has been, I think, avoided. This may be a partially justified reaction to the excesses of certain popular works which have stressed the programmatic element of biblical prophecy.⁶ But *abusus non tollit usum*. Some OT writers, as shall be seen,

¹ The title is from the inscription אסף אל on the trumpets of return in IQM. 3:10

² The best work I am aware of on the subject has been done by M. C. Black, *The Rejected and Slain Messiah Who is Coming with his Angels*. This detailed examination of Zech 9-14, to which we shall refer in this chapter and chapter VII, notes the existence of the ingathering theme within an eschatological programme. D. Gowan emphasises the centrality of Jerusalem in Old Testament eschatology, and has useful sections on 'Restoration to the Promised Land' and 'The Nations' [*Eschatology*, 32, 21-32, 42-58], but does not note the sequential recurrence of the ingathering motif. G. Widengren compares biblical references to the ingathering of Israel to ancient near eastern parallels, but does not comment on their place in Hebrew eschatology ["Yahweh's Gathering," 227-245].

³ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 228.

⁴ Gowan, *Eschatology*, 32.

⁵ L. I. Rabinowitz, "Ingathering," *EJ* 8:1373-5.

⁶ See, for instance, Lindsay, *The Late Great Planet Earth*.

apparently did envisage some sort of programme of eschatological events, as did their earliest interpreters.⁷

Therefore the ingathering motif and the whole idea of an eschatological programme seem to have lain relatively uninvestigated. If these ideas were central to Israelite eschatology, then it may be their neglect that has led to our incomprehension regarding the shaping of the Psalter. Possibly our reconsideration of them may provide a key to the understanding of the shaping of the Psalter which other motifs, such as Messiah, have failed to provide. In this chapter I shall investigate these themes. First, we shall establish the wider context of the Israelite beliefs by looking at similar ideas elsewhere in the ancient Near East, particularly in the Baal Cycle and Mesopotamian texts. Thereafter I shall look at the Bible's clearest ingathering programmes, in the books of Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Joel. Thereafter I shall look at similar ideas in other prophetic books, which may confirm the motif-sequence observed in Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Joel. Then, in the following chapter, I shall see how the ingathering motifs of these eschatological programmes accord with the themes of the Asaph Psalms and the Songs of Ascents.

I. Ingathering Motifs in the Ancient Near East.

1. *The Baal Cycle.*

The tablets of the Baal Cycle date from the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and tell how Baal establishes and maintains his kingship, despite challenges, particularly from Yam-Sea and Mot-Death. There is some dispute about the sequence in which they should be read. Tablets II and III (*KTU* 1.1 and 1.2) are generally regarded as sequential. So too are Baal V and VI (*KTU* 1.5 and 1.6), the latter continuing immediately the goddess Anat's mourning for Baal described in the last column of tablet 5.⁸ The positioning of Baal I and IV and other fragments is less certain. But while there may be some dispute about the sequence in which the tablets should be read, the several different attempts at ordering them witness to the widespread conviction that they do indeed constitute a sequence or sequences of events, and are not simply unrelated tales.⁹

⁷ There are a number of apocalyptic midrashim, dating from the early first millennium CE onwards, which feature eschatological programmes, substantially based upon those of the biblical prophets. Six of these are given in Appendix I. They shall be discussed in chapter VII.

⁸ Clifford, "Temple," 137.

⁹ Clifford proposes that Baal I to VI 'contain two variants of the same basic myth of the victory of the storm god rather than, as is often assumed, of a single connected story of a conflict with Sea followed by a conflict with Death' ["Temple," 138].

There are several principal motifs in the Baal Cycle. The fragment *KTU* 1.101, *obv.*, depicts Baal reigning unopposed in Sapunu, his holy mountain. De Moor suggests that this ought to be regarded as the first motif of the entire cycle.¹⁰ But whether this actual fragment should be placed at the beginning or not, the fact that this is a cyclic myth celebrating Baal's triumph suggests that the opening motif should be the same as the final one, that is, Baal reigning unopposed.

Other motifs occur in Baal II and III (*KTU* 1.1 and 1.2).¹¹ These contain Baal's struggle with Yam-Sea, and are generally regarded as sequential. Their sequence of events is somewhat as follows. El instructs Kothar-wa-Khasis, the divine artificer, to build a mansion (Baal II.iii.). Shortly thereafter Baal appears to have fallen into disgrace. Someone, possibly Athirat, complains against him, saying that El should appoint Yam in his place. El does so, but suggests that Baal will ultimately triumph (Baal II.iv). Baal and Yam then quarrel over the latter's right to possess Baal's property and to rule. Yam sends messengers to the divine assembly to demand they surrender Baal to him. Baal threatens and opposes them. After a break in the text, Kothar-wa-Khasis is to build a palace for Yam. Then Baal describes his woeful situation to Kothar-wa-Khasis. The latter encourages him to fight Yam, and prophesies his ultimate triumph.

*Truly I say to you, Highness Baal,
I repeat, Cloudrider,
Now, Baal, your enemies –
 now you should slay your enemies,
 now you should silence your foes!
Take your eternal kingship,
 your everlasting dominion! (Baal III.iv.7-10).*¹²

He then arms Baal with magic weapons, with which Baal slays Yam and regains control of Sapunu (III.iv).

Baal IV represents Baal victorious. He is on his mount and is told a palace will be built for him (Baal IV.v.i). He commands tribute to be brought, presumably by his worshippers and defeated enemies, for the building of his palace.

*'... Call a caravan to your mansion,
merchandise into your palace!
Let the mountains bring you silver in plenty,*

¹⁰ de Moor, *Anthology*, 1.

¹¹ Some commentators regard Baal II as the beginning of the myth, making the first event of the cycle the building of a palace for Yam [eg, Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 38].

¹² de Moor, *Anthology*, 39.

*the hills the choicest of gold.
Then build a mansion of silver and gold,
a mansion of purest lapis!'
Baal the Almighty rejoiced.
He called a caravan to his mansion,
merchandise into his palace!
The mountains brought him silver in plenty,
the hills the choicest of gold,
the slopes brought him nuggets (Baal IV.v.30-40).¹³*

A palace is built for him (Baal IV.v.i; IV.vi.15-35). A feast follows (IV.vi.40-55). Baal gives forth his voice and the earth shakes (IV.vii.31-33).

A final group of motifs occurs in Baal V and VI (KTU 1.5 and 1.6), which are almost certainly sequential. Baal's lordship is again contested, this time by Mot-Death, the voracious king of death and the underworld. Baal enters into conflict with him and is pierced and dies, and descends to the underworld (V.vi). Later however he revives (VI.iii). He battles again with Mot, who is defeated and proclaims Baal the king (VI.vi).

The motifs in the Baal Cycle can therefore be represented as follows.

KTU 1.101	Baal II	Baal III	Baal IV	Baal V	Baal VI
Baal reigns unopposed in Sapunu.	Baal ousted from Sapunu by Yam. Returns to confront him.	Baal's conflict with Yam-Sea. Yam is slain.	Palace built for triumphant Baal on holy mount. Worshippers bring tribute.	Baal pierced by Mot. Baal dies. Exiled from Sapunu in underworld.	Baal revives. Defeats Mot. Baal proclaimed king.

We shall return to consider the full significance of this sequence in chapter VII. For the purposes of the present chapter, we would simply note three motifs.

Baal II	Baal III	Baal IV
Baal ousted. Returns to Sapunu.	Baal's conflict with Yam-Sea. Yam is slain.	Worshippers gather to Sapunu with tribute.

Although the complete arrangement of these motifs may now be lost to us, it would seem fair to say that the Baal Cycle embodies what may be described as a programme of events, which features some 'gathering' and 'return' motifs. Of course, it is not eschatological in the sense that the later biblical prophets are. But it cannot be dismissed as a mere agricultural myth, any more than it is possible to dismiss Yhwhism, with its harvest festivals and metaphors, as such. It is a cosmogonic myth for the construction and reconstruction of the world. As it is a repeating and repeated

¹³ de Moor, *Anthology*, 56.

myth, it is reasonable to imagine that it might have been viewed as having some ultimate reference to a re-creation of the cosmos into a new age. And that is where eschatology begins.

2. Mesopotamian Texts.

Turning from Ugarit to Mesopotamia, Widengren cites several texts which refer to ingathering of the scattered.¹⁴ His purpose is to ascertain the date of ingathering sayings in Hebrew literature, and he concludes that the motif 'is so well attested in an early period that no decisive arguments speak against its authenticity among pre-exilic prophets.'¹⁵ However the texts he cites are of interest simply in showing that the gathering of the scattered was a standard motif of ancient near eastern statecraft. It was seen as a merciful function of a magnanimous lord. In the prologue of Hammurabi (c. 1790 BCE), the king styles himself *mupahhir niši saphati ša Isinki*, 'the gatherer of the scattered people of Isin' (II 49f.).¹⁶ Thus the theme goes back to remote times in Mesopotamian thought. Yet it occurs little changed a millennium later. In an inscription of Assurbanipal, the king describes his own actions towards Babylon:

*nišašu saphati upahhira
uter ašrušin.*

Its scattered people I gathered
and restored to their place.¹⁷

A 7th century building inscription of Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal's father, proclaims his charitable deeds toward the Babylonians.

*For the citizens of Babylon the oppressed,
I established anew as privileged their freedom,
Under the protection of Anu and Enlil.
They who were bought and brought to slavery,
who had been put into chains and fetters,
I gathered and counted as Babylonians.*

*Their plundered property I restored.
The destitute I clothed in clothes
and caused their feet to take the way to Babylon.
To settle down in the city, to build temples,
to plant orchards, to dig canals
I gave them confidence.*

*Their privileged status, made vain, which had disappeared,
I restored to its place.
The tablets of their freedom from taxes I wrote anew.*

¹⁴ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 227-245.

¹⁵ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 241; cf. 227.

¹⁶ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 235.

¹⁷ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 235; from Langdon, *Königinschriften*, 174.31f.

*Into the four winds I opened their way,
in order that they might direct their intention
to have intercourse with the totality of countries.¹⁸*

More particularly to our present investigation, ingathering was also a function of the propitiate deity.

ša sap̄hi t[upahhara ga]nunšu

The house of the scattered thou gatherest.¹⁹

*[illat] niš^{mes} sapihtu tuštešeri
harrana*

For the scattered clan of the people
thou guidest its way.²⁰

Widengren also cites a prayer to the deity to gather the scattered clan: *illatu: sapihtu illati liphur*.²¹ Sometimes the action of the deity is to be undertaken in the future. Widengren states, "A future action is probably indicated in a series of so-called 'apocalyptic' prophecies where one reads the following prophecy of salvation (CT XIII 50.7-9):"

*"mi-šá-ru iš-šak-kan
e-šá-tu uš-te-še-ra
dal-ha-a-tum i-zak-ka-a
sa-a[p-hu-tum i-pah-hu-ra]*

na-as-hu-tum KI.MIN

ki-na-a-tum uk-tan-na-ma

An act of justice will be promulgated,
the confusion will be set aright,
the troubles will clear up,
those who have been scat[tered will
be gathered],
those who have been uprooted
DITTO,
the righteous will be re-
established."²²

Widengren concludes his discussion of the ingathering motif in relation to the deity: "The promises clearly contain the aspect of futurity, and I am definitely of the opinion that our theme has been used 'eschatologically' in Mesopotamia."²³ Thus the broader ancient Near Eastern literature suggests that, in Ugarit, ingathering themes were basic to the cosmogonic sequence of the Baal cycle, and in Mesopotamia eschatological ingathering and scattering were standard motifs of royal benevolence or displeasure, and ingathering was one of the functions of the benign deity.

¹⁸ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 234; from Borger, *Inschriften*, 25 VII 12ff.

¹⁹ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 236; from Ebeling, *'Handerhebung'*, 44.53. Widengren [236] notes: 'Thanks to VAT 13681 it has been possible to restore a gap in King's publication.'

²⁰ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 236; from Ebeling, *'Handerhebung'*, 122.12.

²¹ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 244; from Weir, *Lexicon*, 296 s.v. *sap̄hu*.

²² Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 237; from Biggs, "Babylonian 'Prophecies'," 121. Widengren states: 'To judge from the entire context, there can be little doubt about the restoration of the small gap in the fourth line quoted' (237). He notes (244) that later duplicates, added by Grayson and Lambert, "Prophecies," 7-30, have greatly facilitated the comprehension of this text.

²³ Widengren, "Yahweh's Gathering," 237.

II. OT Eschatological Programmes.

Three OT passages appear to display entire programmes of eschatological events. These passages are Ezk 34-48, Zech 9-14, and Joel 3-4. I shall investigate them individually.

1. Ezekiel 34-48.

The prophecies in Ezk 34 to 48 appear unambiguously eschatological. They repeatedly refer to events which were patently not part of the writer's present experience. Israel are to be revived and reunified (37:1-28). There is a massive attack against Israel, after their return from exile, by an alliance of nations led by a prince whose home is in the utter north (38:12, 15). This is said to be the day spoken of by previous prophets, presumably the Day of Yhwh (38:17; 39:8). The aftermath will be a utopian Jerusalem in which a magical stream flows from the rebuilt temple, making healing trees bear fruit every month, and sweetening the waters of the Dead Sea (47:1-12). Phrases such as **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** (38:8), **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** (38:16), and **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** (38:10,14,18; 39:11) define the time of these events as in the far future.²⁴ Early interpreters recognize the eschatological referent of these chapters. The LXX translator, for whom the kingdom of Amalek was no more (1Chr 4:42f), reinterpreted Balaam's prophecy at Num 24:7 to apply not to *Agag*, Amalek's king, but to *Gog*, presumably recognizing a still future enemy in the figure of Ezk 38 and 39. 4Q385 (Second Ezekiel^a) interprets these chapters eschatologically.²⁵ So too does the Targum.²⁶ The NT envisages Gog's attack taking place one thousand years after the inauguration of the messianic reign (Rev 20:8). Rabbinic literature regards Ezk 37 as a prediction of the end-time resurrection of the dead and repeatedly refers to Gog and Magog in eschatological contexts.²⁷ The passage has even carried its eschatological

²⁴ Ibn Ezra, although sometimes unsure about which period a prophetic passage refers to (cf. eg. comm. on Hos 2:25), accepts that whenever the phrase **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** occurs the prophecy refers to the age to come (cf. comms. on Gen 49:1; Isa 2:1; Mic 4:1) [Lipshitz, *Ibn Ezra on Hosea*, 45]. Smith notes the eschatological import of **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** [*Micah-Malachi*, 39].

²⁵ For the text see Strugnell and Dimant, "4Q Second Ezekiel," 45-58. They comment, 'One of the surprises in the work is that the vision of the Dry Bones appears to be interpreted as predicting historical [that is, historical from the pseudepigraphic writer's viewpoint, but future from the narrator's] or eschatological events, in the same symbolic way as other visions were interpreted in other apocalyptic writings' [48].

²⁶ The Targum consistently interprets these chapters eschatologically but not messianically. Given the opportunities for messianic interpretation in the references to the eschatological Davidic king in 34:11 ff, this is remarkable. Levey observes that 'the Targumist or Targumists originally responsible for the Targum to Ezekiel did not find Messianism as imperative an issue as some of the others', and suggests they had an eschatological, non-messianic outlook [Levey, *Messiah*, 86-87].

²⁷ Only a few of the numerous references in talmudim and midrashim may be cited. Ezk 37 is taken as referring to the resurrection of the dead at Shab 152b; Ta'an 2b; Sanh 92b. Gog and Magog are

interpretation with it into the Koran, which tells how Yajjuj and Majjuj (Gog and Magog) were confined behind a wall of brass by Alexander, to be held there until their release preceding the time of resurrection and judgment (Suwar 18 & 21). Modern interpreters too recognize that the passage refers to events in the far future.²⁸

Ezk 34 to 48 also seem to contain a deliberate sequence of events, rather than just a catalogue of unrelated prophecies about the future. Ezk 38 and 39 is unmistakably a narrative, as modern commentators recognize. For instance, Blenkinsopp observes that 'the Gog passage tells a fairly clear and consistent story' and Cooke notes its 'loosely strung sequence of ideas'.²⁹ However, they are hesitant of recognizing a sequence of events in the wider context of Ezk 34-48. Blenkinsopp regards the present position of Ezk 38-39 as problematic.

The logical sequence would seem to require that chapters 38-39 precede the section that deals with restoration in chapters 34-37, as in fact they do in one late LXX attestation (the J. H. Scheide papyri, second to fourth century A.D.). The finale of the Gog passage, 39:25-29, would serve very well as a prologue to the more detailed account of the restoration of Israel in chapters 34-37, the fate of the slain enemy's remains would make a fitting contrast with the resuscitation of the dry bones, and the promise concerning the sanctuary with which chapters 34-37 ends would lead smoothly into the vision of the new temple in chapters 40-48.³⁰

On the other hand, Blenkinsopp himself seems uneasy with this, stressing that 'the abundant material preserved from Ezekiel's preaching and the editorial comment on it have been arranged according to a meaningful structure'.³¹ He therefore suggests that 'since the Gog narrative presupposes return to the land but does not speak of a rebuilt temple, this was thought to be the most appropriate point at which to fit it in'.³² Indeed, it could not be otherwise, for, although the narrative standpoint of Ezekiel is consistently exilic, Gog's attack is against the land of Israel, and therefore Israel's return and restoration is the necessary prerequisite to Gog's attack. The Gog narrative itself makes this clear (38:8-14). Thus the entire section of chapters 34-39 functions convincingly as a sequence, and could not easily be arranged otherwise. As the

mentioned in eschatological contexts at AgM 2:4; PirM 5:58; AsM 4:14, Ber 7b; yMeg 71b; yYom 10a; MidTan (Korach, end); MidTeh 2.2.

²⁸ Davidson: 'The time is indefinite, it is far into the years to come' [*Ezekiel*, 274]. Fisch observes that these events are set in the messianic time [*Ezekiel*, 233, 252-3]. Carley suggests Ezk 38 and 39 represent 'God's triumph over the world' [*Ezekiel*, 254].

²⁹ Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 179; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 407.

³⁰ Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 180.

³¹ Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 180. Earlier he notes, 'On a first reading of the book, one gets an impression of continuity, structure, and order and of its being a well thought out whole to a much greater extent than other prophetic books' [3]. The view of Kirkpatrick is similar: 'The Book of Ezekiel bears the marks of careful plan and arrangement' [*The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 336].

³² Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 180.

ensuing chapters 40-48 also make sense in their present position, depicting the utopian Jerusalem in the aftermath of Gog's defeat, the entire passage Ezk 34-48 also functions well as a sequence. Therefore, since the rest of Ezekiel is carefully structured, as Blenkinsopp notes, it may tentatively be assumed that there is an intentional sequence of eschatological events throughout Ezk 34-48, and not in chapters 38 and 39 alone.

The details of this eschatological sequence or programme are as follows. Yhwh will gather his scattered flock back to their land (34:11-24), a theme repeated from earlier in Ezekiel (11:17; 20:34-41; 28:25). He will set David over them as shepherd, נשיא, and king (34:23-24; 37:24-25). The desolate land will become fruitful (34:26-29). There follows a prophecy against Edom and the nations who desolated Israel (35:1-36:7), then the theme of restoration is again taken up: the people will be gathered, forgiven, and faithful; the land will be fruitful, populous, and rebuilt (36:8-38). Then follow further prophecies of national restoration. Yhwh will revive כל-בית ישראל as from death (37:11-12). Commentators generally take the phrase as designating Josephites and Judahites together.³³ However, in v.16 the same phrase denotes the Josephites in contrast to the Judahites, who are called בני ישראל, so there may be some emphasis on the resurgence of the Josephites in particular. Those revived, whether Josephites or all Israel, will be gathered to their land, and reunited (37:15-23), and their king and prince will be 'David' (37:24ff).³⁴ Then comes the attack of Gog and his vast alliance (38:1ff). This attack, which is divinely initiated (38:4f,16f; 39:2), is to take place when the preceding prophecies have been fulfilled, and Israel is settled and prosperous in their land (38:8-12). Gog and his horde will be defeated by divine intervention and fall on the mountains of Israel, where beasts will eat them (38:18-39:20). At Gog's defeat the nations will know Yhwh and see his glory (38:16; 39:21). They will recognize his relationship to Israel and his sanctuary in Jerusalem; they will understand his former punishment of his people (39:23-24; cf. 37:28). Israel will acknowledge Yhwh as their God, and he will pour out his spirit upon them (39:22,25-29). Then follows an extended description of the temple and Israel in the latter days (40-48). They will be ruled by their נשיא (44:3; 46:16-18), presumably of *bet*-David, like the one of 34:23-24; 36:25. The appointed feasts (45:21-25; 46:9-11) and the cult

³³ See, eg, Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 397.

³⁴ It is unclear whether David *redivivus* is envisaged, or merely David represented in a descendant. There is some evidence for belief in a David *redivivus* in rabbinic times [Levey, *Messiah*, 86], though not before. The Targum casts no light upon this verse, but at Ezk 17:22 it expects 'a child (יניק) from the kingdom of the house of David'.

(45:13-46:24) will be restored. The twelve tribes will be reunited in their land around the temple (48), and foreigners will settle and be accepted among them (47:22-23).

Therefore, omitting for the moment the references to the Davidic king, Ezekiel seems to envisage the following eschatological schema.

Gathering of Israel, both Josephites and Judahites. Possible emphasis on Josephites.	Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem.	Israel live and worship in their land. The nations acknowledge Yhwh.
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The exact period of the Davidic reign is unclear. His description as *shepherd* in the context of Israel's ingathering probably implies that he will instigate, inspire, or superintend it (34:23). He will dwell among the people in the utopian post-conflict period (44:3; 46:16-18), which should therefore probably be identified as an eschatological Davidic *malkut*. He is not mentioned among the events of the conflict or its immediate aftermath, but his appointment as Israel's *prince for ever* (37:25) suggests that his presence should possibly be inferred throughout the entire programme.

2. Zechariah 9-14.

Zech 9-14 is eschatological in tone. This was noted earlier in regard to Zech 14.³⁵ But it is equally true of the preceding chapters 9-13. Zech 9:10 depicts a king who will rule in universal peace. In chapters 12 and 13 the eschatological slogan **ביום ההוא** occurs repeatedly (12:3,4,6,8,9,11; 13:1,2,4).³⁶ The eschatological reference of these chapters is confirmed by its being recognized by early interpreters. 1 En 71:14-15 describes a 'son of man' who shall 'proclaim peace to you', a phrase most resembling the description of the future king in Zech 9:10. SibOr 8.324 interprets Zech 9:9 messianically: 'Rejoice, holy daughter Zion, . . . Your king comes in, mounted on a foal, appearing gentle . . . he is son of God.'³⁷ NT writers saw these chapters as predicting messianic events, which they regarded as fulfilled in their own time.³⁸ The Targum interprets Zech 10:4 messianically: 'Out of him [Judah] comes his king, out of him comes his Messiah.' The Talmud and Midrash Rabbah interpret several

³⁵ See Chapter IV, § II.

³⁶ R. L. Smith notes the eschatological import of this phrase [*Micah-Malachi*, 39].

³⁷ The passage is widely regarded as a Christian interpolation (on which see Collins, "Development of the Sibylline Tradition," 446-8). However that does not affect its significance as evidence of early messianic interpretation of this passage.

³⁸ See Zech 9:9 at Mt 21:5 and Jn 12:15; Zech 11:12-13 at Mt 27:9-10; Zech 12:3 at Lk 21:24; 12:10 at Jn 19:37 and Rev 1:7; Zech 13:7 at Mt 26:31 and Mk 14:27.

passages messianically or eschatologically.³⁹ Modern commentators also recognize intentional eschatological prediction throughout Zech 9-14.⁴⁰

Zech 9-14 also seems to contain a deliberate sequence or sequences of events, rather than just unrelated prophecies. C. H. Dodd observes that chapters 9 to 14 of Zechariah have, '... the character of an apocalypse, and while its component visions are not easy to bring into a consistent scheme, it can be understood as setting forth a whole eschatological programme.'⁴¹ R. L. Smith refers to the passage's 'eschatological timetable.'⁴² And Black, in his detailed study of the messianism of these chapters, notes,

While it is obvious that no reading of Zech 9-14 is capable of discovering a clear and well-ordered sequence of events beginning with chapter 9 and ending with chapter 14, it is not difficult to discover within Zech 9-14 an implied, though loosely organized sort of eschatological schema.⁴³

Thus Zech 9-14, like Ezk 34-48, seems to depict a sequence of anticipated latterday events, in Dodd's phrase, 'a whole eschatological programme.' We now proceed to investigate the characteristics of this programme.

The first sequence of eschatological events occurs in Zech 9:9-17, which seems to encompass in miniature the entire sequence which later reoccurs in Zech 10:1-14:21. To Jerusalem comes a king (Zech 9:9), whose Davidic lineage is implied in his Solomonic characteristics. He will impose peace, speak *shalom* to the nations, and have universal dominion, described in v.10 in terms of the messianic motto which occurs also in Solomonic Ps 72:8. The description of his peaceful reign further confirms his Solomonic qualities. Thereafter the ingathering of Israel is described (9:11). While it is not stated that the king instigates this event, the narrative progression from his coming to their gathering probably implies as much. Israel shall be liberated (שָׁלַח) from the בּוֹר אֵין מַיִם בּוֹ *waterless pit* (v.11). This phrase designates, first, a place of death, like the grave, or an underground dungeon.⁴⁴ But

³⁹ See, for instance, Zech 9:9 at Sanh 99a; Zech 11:12 at GenR 98.9; Zech 12:10-12 at Suk 52a. See too Meg 3a, where it is said the land quaked at the Aramaic translation of the Prophets, but not of the Pentateuch, because the translation of the Prophets reveals hidden mysteries. The instance given of such a mystery is Zech 12:11.

⁴⁰ Lamarche, *Zacharie LX-XIV*, 152-157; Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 64; Hanson, *Dawn*, 280ff; Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 44, 57.

⁴¹ Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 64.

⁴² R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 271.

⁴³ Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 52-3.

⁴⁴ For the widespread metaphorical link between pit, imprisonment, and death in the ancient Near East, see Keel, *Symbolism*, 62-78.

there seems also to be an allusion to the pit-captivity of Joseph in Gen 37:24, which features both the verb שלח and a description of the בור as מים.⁴⁵ This might suggest that the captives liberated are the Josephites, the exiled northern tribes, a supposition supported by their appearing as Yhwh's weapon together with Judah in v.13, and by the more explicit reference to their return in Zech 10:6-12, discussed below. The freed captives return to their בצרון fortress (v.12), denoting Zion, as does בצר at Isa 22:10, or possibly just the land of Israel. Then comes holy war language (vv.13-16). The situation envisaged is an attack on Jerusalem by foreigners, rather than an Israelite military offensive. This can be seen from the statement that Yhwh will defend (יגן) them (v.15), the verb גנן denoting at its every other occurrence in the Bible, including Zechariah, the defence or protection of Jerusalem at time of siege.⁴⁶ It is also implied in Yhwh's delivering or rescuing Israel (רושיעם; v.16). It may also be indicated in the rather opaque reference to the victorious Israelites trampling the slingstones (v.15), which might suggest a previous attack by siege machines.⁴⁷ At this national crisis, Yhwh will fight on Israel's behalf and save them. The restored Ephraimites and Judahites, reunited Israel, shall be his weapons of attack. Thereafter the triumphant Israelites shall sparkle and rejoice in their land (v.16).

A more complex version of the same sequence seems to be described in Zech 10:1-14:21. A number of features identify the present form of this passage as a literary unit, whatever its original sources may have been. The difference in tone between the utopian vision of 9:17 and the prophetic admonition of 10:1 marks it as a new section. Its opening theme is that Yhwh alone is the rain giver (10:1-2) and the repetition of this theme in 14:17ff. forms an inclusio marking the boundaries of the whole section. The prominence of the shepherd theme (10:2-3; 11:3-17; 13:7), absent from the earlier part of the book, supports the same conclusion.

As regards its sequence of events, it opens with a brief admonition to look to Yhwh, not idols, for the blessing of rain (vv.1-2). Then follows a prediction of Israel's restoration (vv.3-12). Judah will be strengthened (vv.3-6) and, in language allusive of Gen 49:10, the future kingship of Israel is accorded them (v.4). Smith notes of v.4,

⁴⁵ Stuhlmueller [*Rebuilding*, 126] notes the 'almost verbatim' resemblance to Gen 37:24.

⁴⁶ Isa 31:5; 37:35; 38:6; 2 Ki 19:34; 20:6; Zech 12:8.

⁴⁷ R. L. Smith renders the phrase אבני־קלע as (they will . . . tread down) the sling stones [Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 258, 260]. He does not state whether he envisages siege machines or hand slings. But the former would be more likely in a siege situation, and the closest parallel to this phrase, אבני קלעים at 2 Chr 26:14-15, denotes projectiles of siege machines.

‘These metaphorical references are all to a new leader who is to come out of Judah,’⁴⁸ The Targum, as noted above, agrees. The Judahites dwelling in the land will be strengthened, and the Josephites will be gathered from distant lands and repatriated in Gilead and Lebanon (vv.6-12). (In this Zech 9-14 differs from Ezk 37, which envisages the ingathering of both Ephraim and Judah. This is consistent with the prophecies in Zech 9-14 having originated in post-exilic times, when a community of Judahites had returned to the land.) Then it is predicted that Jerusalem will be besieged by foreign armies (12:2-3). Yhwh will rescue Israel and destroy the attacking nations (12:9; 14:3ff.). In the conflict the house of David will make glorious battle, going before Israel like **אלהים** and the **מלאך אלהים** (12:8-9). Thereafter the survivors of the nations will ascend to Zion to worship at the Feast of Sukkoth (Zech 14:16-21). The worship of Israel with the nations at the latterday Feast of Sukkoth is not stated, but is implied simply by its location on Zion, as well as by the wider Zecharian context (8:20-23).

Although the golden age depicted in Zech 14 is emphatically a kingdom of God, with its threefold emphasis on Yhwh as universal king (vv.9,16,17), that does not exclude the possibility that the writer envisaged an eschatological scion of the house of David ruling as Yhwh’s representative. Indeed, though a human king is not mentioned *per se*, a number of points suggest that one should be viewed as present. First Zech 9:10 predicts that the coming king will have ultimate universal dominion. This can be fulfilled, in the context of Zech 9-14, only if he is regarded as ruling in the time when hostile nations have been finally subdued, that is, *after* the eschatological conflict in Zech 14. Second, references to *bet-David*’s military prowess in the eschatological conflict (Zech 12:8-9) suggest that they will triumph and rule in Zion thereafter. Third, other prophets depict the eschatological kingdom as having a restored house of David.⁴⁹ The Zecharian writer, as shall be seen in the following section, was aware of the writings of at least some of his predecessors. It is therefore unlikely that he would have imagined a golden age for Israel with a vacant throne of David. Certainly, ancient commentators appear to have reasoned along these lines, when they represent Zech 14 as a Davidic *malkut*.⁵⁰ As Black notes, ‘Although there is no mention of any

⁴⁸ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 265. He notes that cornerstone (פִּנְה) denotes leadership at Ps 118:22 and Isa 19:13, and tent-peg (יִתֵּד) at Isa 22:23-24 [264-5]. Battle-bow is not used elsewhere in the Bible to denote a king, but was a common royal designation in the Near East [Mason, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 100].

⁴⁹ Isa 11:1-9; Jer 3:17; 23:3-6; Ezk 37:21-25; 44:3; 46:16-18; Hos 3:4-5; Mic 4:8-5:1[2]; Am 9:11-14.

⁵⁰ Otot 8:4 depicts Zech 14:3 occurring in ben David’s reign. SefZ 50 describes ben David coming at the time when the Lord descends upon the Mount of Olives [Zech 14:4]. PirM 5:65-6 sets Zech 14:3, and probably 14:4, in the time of ben David [cf. PirM 5:45ff]. Sa’adya depicts the disintegration of the

human agent in the MT of Zech 14, this chapter is interpreted in a messianic context in a large number of rabbinic references.⁵¹

Of course, the above-outlined Zecharian event-sequences omit most of Zech 11-13, with its shepherds rejecting and rejected, its mysterious pierced figure, its desolated Jerusalem, and exiled people. These themes shall be considered in chapter VII. But, disregarding them for the present, there is a broad similarity between the eschatological programmes of Zech 9:9-17 and 10:1-14:21. These may be represented as follows.

<i>Zech 9:9-17.</i>	Gathering of Israel (Josephites).	Jerusalem attacked by hostile nations. Deliverance.	Triumphant Israel rejoice in their land.
<i>Zech 10:1-14:21.</i>	Gathering of Israel (Josephites).	Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem. Attack. Deliverance.	Israel worship Yhwh at Feast of Sukkoth with the nations.

Black too recognizes a somewhat similar sequence in these chapters.

While there is no single narrative which begins in chapter 9 and ends in chapter 14, there seem to be recurring narrative sequences, nearly all of which relate the events of the eschaton. The most obvious and frequently-recurring one envisions Yahweh gathering his people from the nations, leading them in battle, defeating the nations, establishing the blissful kingdom, and gathering the nations at Jerusalem. This sequence (or portions of it) is found in 9.1-8, 9.11-17, 10.3b-11.3, 12.1-9, and 14.1-21.⁵²

3. Joel 3-4 [2:28-3:21].

The tone of the passage is eschatological. There occur phrases such as יום יהוה (3:4 [2:31]), בימים ההמה ובעת ההיא (4:1 [3:1]), and ביום ההוא (4:18 [3:18]), and the themes include the outpouring of the divine *ruach* upon all flesh (3:1[2:28]), massive disruption of the heavenly bodies (3:1f; 4:15 [2:30f; 3:15]), Israel's final vindication and Jerusalem's peace, forgiveness, and divine indwelling for ever (4:1-21 [3:1-21]). The passage also seems to be consciously presenting a programme of events. One commentator describes it as an 'Apocalypse'.⁵³

invaders (Zech 14:12) and the nations' ascent to procure rain (Zech 14:16ff) as taking place in the time of the Messiah [*Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.vi; Rosenblatt, 306-8]. Ibn Tibbon adds to Sa'adya's text the words, 'the son of David will decree it upon them [the conquered nations] that they come every year to celebrate the feast of tabernacles' [*Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.vi; Rosenblatt, 307]. Black [*Rejected and Slain*, 152] notes SongR 2.13.4, which interprets Zech 14:9, *The Lord shall be king over the whole earth*, in the time of the Messiah. He also notes various other passages which suggest a messianic interpretation of Zech 14:3-4 [142-57]. Some of these shall be discussed in chapter VII.

⁵¹ Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 156.

⁵² Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 54.

⁵³ G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, 431.

The sequence of events is as follows. Yhwh will gather all nations to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where he will judge and recompense them for having previously scattered Israel (Joel 4:2f [3:2f]). The location intended is, probably, the Valley of Berakhah beside Jerusalem,⁵⁴ where Jehoshaphat celebrated the supernatural rout of the Moabite and Ammonite alliance (2 Chr 20).⁵⁵ Thus the scenario is one of ingathered Israel threatened at the gates of Jerusalem by a foreign invasion, while the location evokes the conceptual framework of 2 Chr 20, with its Asaphite holy war *zikhron*, victory, and triumphant celebration. Yhwh addresses the nations directly, apparently in non-eschatological time, warning them of coming judgment and foretelling Israel's resurgence (4:4-8 [3:4-8]). Then the eschatological vision reoccurs. The nations are summoned to the valley. Yhwh will roar from Zion and they will be reaped like corn and trampled in the winepress (4:9-16 [3:9-16]). Then Israel will be blessed with abundant security and fertility, and a stream will flow from the Lord's house and water the land (4:17-18). Israel's latterday worship is not explicitly mentioned, but is implied in their reconciliation with Yhwh, when *Jerusalem will be holy*, and the people's bloodguilt pardoned (4:17,21; [3:17,21]). After such a cataclysmic judgment, the nations will presumably acknowledge Yhwh's supremacy and his dwelling in Jerusalem. Thus the eschatological programme of this passage is as follows seems to be as follows.

Ingathering of Israel.	Ingathering of nations against Jerusalem. Divine deliverance.	Israel blessed; reconciled with Yhwh; vindicated before the nations.
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Joel 3-4 contains no explicit reference to a latterday *bet* David. However the comparison of the latterday conflict with that of Jehoshaphat suggests that a Davidic king, like Jehoshaphat, is to lead Israel at that time (4:2).

⁵⁴ In 2 Chr 20:26 the Israelites assemble in the Valley of Berakhah to praise Yhwh on the fourth day after their victory. As this is the only valley mentioned in connection with Jehoshaphat it is the likeliest candidate for the reference in Joel 4:2. (The battle itself is not said to have taken place in a valley.) Since the fourth century CE, the Valley of Berakhah has been identified with the Kidron valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives [Myers, *Hosea to Jonah*, 91]. No earlier evidence for the identification is available, but the environs of Jerusalem would seem an appropriate spot for a victory celebration. The battle itself is said to have taken place in the direction of the Desert of Tekoa, south of Jerusalem (2 Chr 20:20). However there is no indication that the Valley of Berakhah was in the same vicinity. Rather it was the place they assembled after the work of gathering booty was complete.

⁵⁵ There seems insufficient ground for saying that, because Jehoshaphat simply means 'Yhwh judges', Joel's *עמק יהושפט* therefore refers only to Yhwh's judgment and not to the events of 2 Chr 20 [pace G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, II:432]. As noted previously, word-play upon proper names is a common technique in Hebrew literature from biblical times on (ch. III, § I). Indeed, given the divine judgment described in 2 Chr 20, the very name 'Jehoshaphat' might be regarded as a wordplay in 2 Chr 20 itself. Certainly, Ibn Ezra does not hesitate to identify the 'Valley of Jehoshaphat' with the Valley of Berakhah in 2 Chr 20 [Comm. on Joel 4:2].

4. One eschatological programme in Ezk 34-48, Zech 9-14, and Joel 3-4?

These three prophetic passages therefore present remarkably similar eschatological programmes. This similarity may be more than accidental. There is evidence of substantial literary relationship between the three programmes, which suggests that the later ones may be dependent on the earlier ones, and be intentionally describing the same anticipated events.

Several commentators observe that Zech 9-14 frequently appropriates and reuses earlier biblical writings.⁵⁶ As Black notes,

Perhaps more than any other OT prophetic work, Zech 9-14 is the reinterpretation of earlier prophecy, some of which has been expanded, some reinterpreted, and some even reversed.⁵⁷

This is evident in isolated allusions, such as those to Gen 37:24, Gen 49:10, Amos 8:10, and Ps 72:8, at Zech 10:4, 9:11, 12:11 and 9:10, respectively. More significantly, there is extensive dependence on blocks of earlier material, particularly from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.⁵⁸ Black observes that, of all these, the most influential block of scripture for Zech 9-14 is Ezek 30-48 (especially chapters 34, 36, 37, and 38).⁵⁹ Some of the more striking resemblances are as follows.

<u>Ezekiel</u>		<u>Zechariah</u>	
34:3	=	11:5,16.	Bad shepherds slaughter and eat the flock.
34:4	=	11:16.	Bad shepherds neglect the weak and sick sheep.
34:10	=	10:3; 11:7-8.	Yhwh is <i>against</i> bad shepherds and rejects them.
34:11-20	=	10:3.	Yhwh himself will care for his flock.
34:26	=	10:1; 14:17ff.	Yhwh is the giver of rain in season.
36:17,25	=	13:1	Israel cleansed from impurity with clean water.
36:26f; 39:29	=	12:10	Spiritual renewal of Israelites.
36:8; 37:23-7	=	13:9	Reiteration of covenant formula.
37:15ff.	=	11:7-14	Staffs/sticks signifying the unity of Israel.
37:23	=	13:2	Israel cleansed of idolatry.
38:15	=	10:5	Invading army mounted on horses.
38:16; 39:2	=	14:2	Yhwh instigates the nations' attack.
38:16	=	14:16ff.	Nations know Yhwh after the invasion's defeat.
38:19f.	=	14:4,10	Great geological upheaval.
38:21	=	14:13	Attacking armies kill one another.
38:22	=	14:12-15	Plague on the invading armies.
39:10	=	14:14	The defeated armies will be plundered.
47.1ff.	=	14:8	A river will flow from Jerusalem.

⁵⁶ Mason, *Earlier Biblical Material in Zechariah IX-XIV*; Delcor, "Les sources", 385-411; Mitchell, Smith, & Bewer, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 236-9; Stuhlmüller, *Rebuilding*, 115.

⁵⁷ Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 48-9.

⁵⁸ Suggested influences of Jeremiah on Zech 9-14 are listed by Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 50-51. For Ezekiel and Isaiah see below.

⁵⁹ Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 50.

This suggests that Zech 9-14 is indeed dependent on Ezk 34-48, or, at least, upon the traditions behind it. Moreover, not only does Zech 9-14 repeatedly allude to Ezk 34-48, but there is some similarity of sequence in the allusions, as Black points out, 'Zech 11 draws heavily on Ezk 34 and 37; Ezk 36 is a major source for Zech 13; and Ezk 38 provides much of the conceptual framework of Zech 14.'⁶⁰

The internal evidence for Zech 9-14's dependence on Ezk 34-48 is confirmed by early interpretation which regards the two texts as foretelling the same events. The earliest indication of such a view may be LXX Ezk 37:16ff, which renders Hebrew עֵץ, *stick*, as ῥάβδος, *staff*, possibly in order to agree with מַקֵּל, *staff*, at Zech 11:7 (also rendered ῥάβδος in LXX). Better evidence is found in eschatological midrashim of the first millennium CE, which repeatedly describe the attack of Gog, who appears in the Bible only in Ezekiel, with citations from Zech 12 and 14.⁶¹ Thus *Aggadat Mashiah* (26-30), dating probably from before 300 CE, describes Gog's attack with quotations from Zech 12:12; 14:3; and 14:5. *Asereth Melakhim* (4:14-15), dating probably from the mid-eighth century, describes it with quotes from Zech 12:10; and 14:2,4,12. *Pirque Mashiah* (5:58-67), dating from the early Islamic period, cites Zech 14:1-2 and 14:3 in reference to Gog and Magog, together with Ezk 39:17. Sa'adya Gaon cites numerous passages from Ezekiel and Zechariah in reference to the one sequence of eschatological events, which includes the attack of Gog and Magog.⁶² *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* 34 refers to the war of Gog and Magog with a quote from Zech 14:4.⁶³

Other evidence that these texts were early regarded as referring to the same eschatological events may be found in rabbinic traditions which conflate the resurrection of the dead and the splitting of the Mount of Olives, the former event being described, metaphorically or otherwise, at Ezk 37:12 but not in Zechariah, and the latter in Zechariah but nowhere else. The Codex Reuchlinianus text of Tg Zech 14:4 adds, preceding the splitting of the Mount of Olives, the words, 'At that time the Lord will take in his hand the great trumpet and will blow ten blasts upon it to revive the dead.' The north wall of the mid-third century synagogue at Dura-Europos contains, in the 'Ezekiel Cycle', a painting of a mountain split in the middle, which

⁶⁰ Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 50.

⁶¹ The text of these midrashim, with remarks regarding their dating, is given in Appendix 1.

⁶² Sa'adya, *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.v-vi (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 302-312).

⁶³ 'Ten descents did the *shekhinah* make into the world: . . . And one will take place in the future, in the days of Gog and Magog, as it is said, *And his feet shall stand that day upon the Mount of Olives*' [Zech 14:4].

has dead bodies within it. In the following picture the dead are raised by angels.⁶⁴ These would appear to be early versions of the idea that occurs later in Tg. Song 8:5.

When the dead rise, the Mount of Olives will be cleft, and all Israel's dead will come up out of it. Also the righteous who have died in captivity, they will come by way of a subterranean passage and will emerge from beneath the Mount of Olives.

Thus ancient interpretation recognizes the dependence, or at least the similarity, between the two texts. Rashi seems to be summing up such traditions, when he says at his comment on Ezk 38:17, 'Zechariah also prophesied concerning the wars of Gog and Magog: *And I will gather all the nations*, etc.'⁶⁵ [Zech 14:2]; and, at his comment on Zech 14:2, where he names Gog as the leader of that invasion.

Thus both internal parallels and ancient tradition suggest that Ezekiel's schema, or something very like it, underlies Zech 9-14. This seems to suggest that the writer or compiler of Zech 9-14 is deliberately setting out to re-describe the events of the eschatological programme in Ezekiel. That is not to say that he does not insert additional material or reinterpret events. He does.⁶⁶ He employs Ezekiel's 'stick' imagery to represent Israel's coming disunity, rather than unity, as in Ezekiel (Ezk 37:15ff; Zech 11:14). He adds a further exile following the future ingathering (Zech 13:8-14:2). He also adds the death of a latterday shepherd-king, whose description seems substantially dependent on Isa 40-55 and the 'servant songs' in particular (Zech 11:17; 12:10; 13:7).⁶⁷ These issues shall be discussed in chapter VII. But additions aside, the underlying schema of Zech 9-14 seems similar to that of Ezk 34-48, and to be modelled on it.

Joel, like Zechariah, shows substantial dependence on earlier writings, as a number of commentators note.⁶⁸ Ogden comments,

One of the most intriguing features of Joel is its extensive quotation of other prophetic writings. We may generally state that where such parallels exist it is Joel who has done the borrowing. . . . The reason for this conclusion is that Joel places those materials within his own particular expressions. For example, Joel incorporates 2:13-14, which echo thoughts from Jonah 3:9 and 4:2, into a section carrying his basic "before and

⁶⁴ Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 149-150.

⁶⁵ וזכריה שאף הוא נתנבא על מלחמות גוג ומגוג ואספתי את כל גוים

⁶⁶ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 271; Hanson, *Dawn*, 344; Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 75-6, all note that the writer of Zech 9-14 has reversed and supplemented the themes of Ezk 34-48.

⁶⁷ This has been argued a number of scholars, including Rudolph, *Sacharja 9-14*; Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 124-30; Mason, *Zechariah*, 88; Ackroyd, "Zechariah," 654; Mitchell *et al.*, *Zechariah*, 331; Black, *Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 51, 86ff; Wolff, *Jesaja 53 in Urchristentum*, 40.

⁶⁸ G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, II:384; Ogden, *Joel*, 12; Wolff, *Joel*, 5, 10. Other commentators note particular examples of borrowing [Prinsloo, *Theology of Joel*, 58; Myers, *Hosea to Jonah*, 95].

after” theme. Sometimes Joel turns the borrowed statement around – 2:3b reverses Isa 51:3; 2:21 similarly treats Ps 126:3; 3:10 reverses Isa 2:4. Virtually all of Joel’s quotations come from other prophets, and the list is quite extensive.⁶⁹

G. A. Smith, offering different grounds for Joel’s dependence, reaches a similar conclusion.

The literary parallels between Joel and other writers are unusually many for so small a book. They number at least twenty in seventy-two verses. The other books of the Old Testament in which they occur are about twelve. Where one writer has parallels with many, we do not necessarily conclude that he is the borrower, unless we find that some of the phrases common to both are characteristic of the other writers, or that, in his text of them, there are differences from theirs which may reasonably be reckoned to be of a later origin. But that both of these conditions are found in the parallels between Joel and other prophets has been shown by Prof. Driver and Mr G. B. Gray. “Several of the parallels – either in their entirety or by virtue of certain words which they contain – have their affinities solely or chiefly in the later writings. . . .”⁷⁰

Joel does indeed cite directly from other OT writers in a host of passages. One verse alone, Joel 1:15, has the following close linguistic parallels to other books.⁷¹

<u>Joel.</u>	<u>Other.</u>	
1:15	= Ezk 30:2	א[ה]דה ליום
1:15	= Ezk 30:3; Ob 15; Zeph 1:7	כי קרוב יום ליהודה
1:15	= Isa 13:6	כשד משרי יבוא

In addition to close linguistic parallels, Joel’s eschatological motifs and themes also share many points of resemblance with other writers. Ogden suggests that the background to the outpouring of divine *ruach* in 2:28-29 seems to be Ezk 39:25-29.⁷² The earthquake at the time of the attack (4[3]:16) occurs elsewhere only in the eschatological programmes of Ezk 38:19 and Zech 14:4-5. The slaughter is to be in a valley (4[3]:14), as at Ezk 39:11. Water flowing from the latterday temple (4[3]:18) occurs elsewhere in the OT only at Ezk 47 and Zech 14:8.⁷³ The similarity between the language of Joel 4[3]:2a and Zech 14:2a is striking. The language describing the divinely initiated alliance of many nations against Jerusalem is similar in each case (Joel 4[3]:11-12; Ezk 38:15-16; Zech 14:2), as is its purpose in requiting the nations for their maltreatment of Israel (Joel 4[3]:2-8,19; Ezk 36:5). The pronunciation of שממה *desolation* upon Egypt and Edom (Joel 4[3]:19) recalls Ezekiel, for whom the

⁶⁹ Ogden, *Joel*, 12.

⁷⁰ G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, II:384.

⁷¹ A detailed list of Joel citations from and close linguistic parallels to other prophetic texts is given by Ogden [*Joel*, 56-7].

⁷² Ogden, *Joel*, 37.

⁷³ Myers may be correct in observing that the common background to this idea, from which all three writers borrowed, is Isa 8:6 and its probable reference to the waters of Siloam (cf. Neh 3:15).

word is a key-term,⁷⁴ and in particular Ezk 29:9-12; 32:15 and 35:3-15, which pronounce desolation against Egypt and Edom. All this suggests that Joel 3-4 [2:28-3:21] intentionally describes the same programme of eschatological events as Ezk 34-48 and Zech 9-14. This conclusion is supported by rabbinic tradition. Kimhi, who equates the programmes of Ezekiel and Zechariah, says also of Joel 4[3]:2 that the nations it describes will come with Gog and Magog, and that this is the same event as is described in Ezk 39:2.⁷⁵

5. Summary.

Ezk 34-48, Zech 9-14, and Joel 3-4 seem to present eschatological programmes, which are similar in their broad outlines. This similarity apparently derives from the dependence of Zechariah and Joel upon Ezekiel. There may also be some influence between Zechariah and Joel. These eschatological programmes comprise a sequence of gatherings to Zion. First, scattered Israel, with an emphasis on the Josephites, gather from exile. Second, hostile nations gather against them. Third, following Israel's deliverance, they and the survivors of all the nations will worship Yhwh at the appointed feasts in Jerusalem (Ezk 45:13-46:24; Zech 14:16-21). Thus the envisaged sequence of gatherings is as follows.

Ingathering of scattered Israel from exile (particularly Josephites).	Ingathering of nations against Jerusalem.	Ingathering of Israel and nations to worship on Zion.
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That a distinct programme such as this formed part of the conceptual furniture of ancient Israel is confirmed by a similarity between it and the motifs of the Baal Cycle, when analogy is drawn between Baal and Yhwh on one hand and Yam-Sea and the nations on the other. The connection between Baal and Yhwh is clear enough. Each was their nation's representative deity, each the dweller on the holy hill, each the cloudrider (Ps 68:5[4]). A connection between the restless, surging nations and the sea can also be made. C. Kloos maintains that the biblical theme of Yhwh's combat with the Sea, in Ex 15, Ps 29 and elsewhere, is largely derived from Canaanite mythology.⁷⁶ Similarly, Jeremias suggests that Yhwh's triumph at Yam Suph has been placed in the framework of mythological battle with the sea.⁷⁷ Day maintains that the biblical theme of conflict with the nations is a historicization of Yhwh's conflict with

⁷⁴ Ezk 6:14; 7:27; 12:20; 14:15,16; 15:8; 23:33; 29:9,10,12 (x2); 32:15; 33:28,29; 35:3,4,7,9,12,14,15 (x2); 36:34.

⁷⁵ Kimhi, Comm. on Joel 4:2.

⁷⁶ Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat*, 213-4.

⁷⁷ Jeremias, *Theophanie*, 96.

the Sea.⁷⁸ Certainly, the themes of Yhwh's war with the sea and its dragon, on the one hand, and with the nations, on the other, are equated in a number of biblical passages.⁷⁹ Bearing these parallels in mind, the following similarity in the Canaanite and Israelite sequences is discernable. The divine lord rules on his holy hill. Surging forces mount an attack against him, displace him, and drive him away. (For Yhwh, along with his people, leaves Zion when it is overwhelmed by the nations [Ezk 10:4ff]). There follows a conflict between the divine lord and the usurper in which the latter is slain. Thereafter the divine lord returns to his mount, receives tribute, rebuilds his palace, and rules there, receiving tribute to himself.

Baal II	Baal III	Baal IV
Baal ousted. Returns to Sapunu.	Baal's conflict with Yam-Sea. Yam is slain.	Worshippers gather to Sapunu with tribute.
Ingathering of scattered Israel from exile (particularly Josephites).	Ingathering of nations against Jerusalem.	Ingathering of Israel and nations to worship on Zion.

There are, of course, differences between even the biblical programmes. Different narrative standpoints, for instance, lead to different perspectives on the ingathering. Ezekiel regards both Judah and Ephraim as absent from the land and in need of gathering (37:11-21); Zechariah regards only Ephraim as absent and in need of gathering, while Judah is present, but in need of strengthening (10:6). But, such differences apart, there are broad similarities between the motifs of these programmes. It is surely plausible to suggest that by early Second Temple times, some Israelites, at least, regarded such eschatological programmes as defining their expectation of future events.

III. Further Ingathering Programmes in the Biblical Prophets.

Ezekiel maintains that its predicted eschatological conflict is not self-originated, but an established tradition among Israel's prophets (38:17; 39:8). As Davidson notes,

The prophet is not the author of the idea of this invasion. It has been predicted of old by the prophets of Israel, prophesying over long periods (xxxviii. 17, xxxix. 8). Neither is it probable that the idea was one read out of certain prophecies merely by Ezekiel. More likely it was an idea widely entertained.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Day, *God's Conflict*, 139.

⁷⁹ Ex 15:1-18; Isa 8:5-8; 17:12-14; 30:7; 51:9-11; Jer 51:34; Ezk 29:3-5; 32:2-9; Hab 3; Ps 18:5-18[4-17]; 65:8[7]; 68:23[22]; 77:17-21[16-20]; 87:4; 144:7-8.[18-19]. Most of these texts are discussed by Day [*God's Conflict*, 88-140].

⁸⁰ Davidson, *Ezekiel*, 273-4.

Zech 9-14 and Joel 3-4, by their heavy reliance on earlier prophets, imply that they too are consciously retelling earlier traditions. The writer of Jeremiah also regarded impending massive war as a recurrent theme among his predecessors (Jer 26:17-23; 28:8). It is therefore worthwhile to consider briefly other prophetic books in order to see what motifs they may contain and what programmes of future events may be implied in them. It is worth noting at the outset that the following passages are not all as consistently eschatological as Ezekiel and Zechariah, whose anticipated events are set in the distant future. They tend to mix distant eschatology with 'near eschatology' and history. Nor is the motif sequence always as complete as in Ezekiel and Zechariah. Nonetheless, the same tripartite motif-sequence is discernable. As in Ezekiel and Zechariah, the narrative standpoint leads to different views of the anticipated programme of events.

1. Zephaniah.

An eschatological tone is discernable throughout Zephaniah. There are references to **בַּעַת הַהִיא** (3:19,20), **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** (3:16), **יוֹם אֶפְיִיחָהּ** (2:2), and **יוֹם יִיחָהּ** (1:14). The book opens with a description of Yhwh's day of wrath as a fearful judgment on the earth in general (1:2-3), and Jerusalem in particular (1:4-18). Then Israel are exhorted to *gather together* and seek Yhwh before the day of wrath (2:1-2). Given the book's narrative standpoint in Josiah's time⁸¹ this would seem to be an exhortation to all Israel, and particularly to those Ephraimites remaining in the north, to gather to Jerusalem for Josiah's passover, one aspect of which appears to have been an attempt to gather the remnant of Ephraim (2 Chr 34:9; 35:18; 3 Ezr 1:21; bMeg 14b; bArak 33a).⁸² Then follows a series of prophecies against individual nations: Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Cush, and Assyria (2:4-15). They will be destroyed by

⁸¹ The dating at Zech 1:1 and the absence of any reference to the staggering event of Josiah's death suggests the prophecies which form Zephaniah were written during Josiah's lifetime. However, if those commentators who assign a later date to the final form of the book are right (see Hyatt ["Zephaniah", 642] and Williams ["The Date", 83-85], who propose a date in Jehoiakim's time, and Smith and Lacheman ["Authorship", 137-42], who assign the book's final form to 200 BCE, reckoning only 1:4-13 as authentic Zephaniah), then the absence of any reference to Josiah's death must still be taken as indicating a deliberate adoption of a narrative standpoint in Josiah's time.

⁸² I am not aware of this idea in other commentators. Gaster suggests the oracle was delivered at the autumn Feast of Sukkoth, because the description of the desolation of the earth in 1:2f suggests 'descriptions of the languishing earth in myths connected with the "vanishing and returning" (or "dying and reviving") deities of fertility' [*Myth*, 679]. However the historical books make no mention of Josiah's keeping Sukkoth, whereas much is made of his celebration of Passover (2 Ki 23:21ff; 2 Chr 35:1ff; 3 Ezr 1:1ff). If Zephaniah is of post-Josianic origin, then 2:1 may be a veiled exhortation to later groups of scattered Israelites to gather together. Such groups might be Ephraimites after the Babylonian destruction (cf. Jer 41:5ff.) or Babylonian Jews after Cyrus' decree. Nonetheless, the narrative viewpoint of the text remains Josianic (1:1), and so the primary referent of 2:1 should be sought in the events of Josiah's time.

Yhwh (2:4-15), by Israel's hand (2:9), in recompense for their malevolence to Israel (2:10). There follows a brief message of judgment against Israel (3:1-7). Then it is said that Yhwh will gather all nations to pour out his wrath upon them (3:8). The survivors be purified and will worship and serve him, both in their own lands and in bringing tribute to him in Jerusalem (2:11; 3:9-10). Israel will be faithful to Yhwh and honoured among the nations (3:11-13; 19-20). Finally, it appears that at the time the enemy is turned back a further ingathering of Israel is to take place (3:15, 19-20). This is to consist of those who have been scattered, which, given the date, or ostensible date, of the prophecy in the reign of Josiah (1:1), would seem to indicate the ten tribes. This would suggest that the prior gathering of Israel in 2:2 was partial. The motif-sequence is similar to that in Zechariah and Ezekiel.

Gathering of Israel. Given the narrative standpoint, particularly Ephraim.	Gathering of nations. Attack & deliverance.	Gathering of ten tribes. Nations worship Yhwh in Jerusalem, together with Israel.
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2. Micah.

A similar sequence of motifs is discernable in Mic 4. The passage 4:1-8 is, as Smith notes, 'freighted with eschatological overtones', indicated especially by phrases such as *בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים* (4:1) and *בְּיוֹם הוּא*.⁸³ It contains two oracles of hope.⁸⁴ The first depicts the eschatological vision of all nations ascending to worship in Jerusalem (4:1-5). The second relates that in that day Israel will be regathered and *the former kingship*, presumably the splendid extent of the united Davidic monarchy, will return to Daughter Zion (4:6-8). Following this future vision, 4:9 to 5:3[4] features three salvation oracles, each beginning *עַתָּה* (ר), which look from Israel's present predicament to their ultimate deliverance. The first oracle (4:9-10) represents Daughter Zion crying out in terror, as in the pangs of childbirth. The reason is apparently that her immediate destiny is capture and exile in Babylon. However, like the pangs of childbirth, Israel's sorrows will ultimately lead to new life. Yhwh will redeem them from Babylon. The second oracle (4:11-13) seems to present quite a different picture: *many nations are gathered* against Zion, to destroy her and gloat over her. But this time they are gathered for destruction by Yhwh himself, who brings them as *sheaves to the threshing-floor*, a phrase depicting Moriah's eschatological role in terms of its ancient one (1 Chr 21:18-22:1). Israel will thresh the nations and devote their wealth to Yhwh (4:13). The third oracle (4:14-5:3[4]) tells how Zion's besieging enemies humiliate Israel's judge (4:14). The writer looks forward to the

⁸³ Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 36, 39.

⁸⁴ The division of Mic 4:1-5:3[4] into a sequence of oracles, two of hope, three of salvation, is suggested by Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43.

appearance of a Bethlehemite *moshel*, a future David, whose worldwide greatness will secure peace for Israel (5:1-3[2-4]). Until the time of birth (of this child?), Israel is to be forsaken by Yhwh. But when the *moshel* appears the rest of his brothers will return to the children of Israel (5:2[3]), a phrase suggesting the gathering of a group of exiled Israelites. Given the pre-exilic standpoint of the text, and the Judahite lineage of the *moshel*, a reference to the return of the exiled Ephraimite ten tribes seems likely.

In these five oracles the distinctive motifs of the eschatological programmes repeatedly occur: ingathering of Israel, especially Ephraim; attack by hostile nations; deliverance; golden age; and future Davidic *malkut*. However it is unclear whether any kind of purposeful programme is implied in the way this material is presented. Particularly puzzling is the discrepancy between the first two salvation oracles (4:9-13). The first indicates attack followed by exile; the second, attack followed by deliverance. An attempt to reconcile these might produce a sequence of attack, exile, gathering, attack, and deliverance.⁸⁵ Taken together with the other oracles, this would produce a programme like the tripartite sequence noted above, with an extra 'attack and exile' motif prefixed.

Gathering of nations against Jerusalem. Exile in Babylon.	Ingathering of Israel.	Gathering of nations against Jerusalem. Deliverance.	Gathering of Israel and nations to worship on Zion. Davidic <i>malkut</i> . Return of ten tribes.
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Such a programme might seem hopelessly contrived, if it were not for the fact that Zech 9-14 also seems to depict two attacks, the first followed by exile, the second by deliverance. Could it be that this writer, like the Zecharian one, was influenced by the ancient Baal Cycle?⁸⁶ Or could this passage from Micah have been another of the many influences on Zech 9-14? We cannot say for sure. But certainly these oracles contain all the motifs of the programmes of Ezekiel and Joel, and even of the full Zecharian programme. However their pre-exilic narrative standpoint sees these events beginning with the Babylonian attack and exile, while the post-exilic Zecharian writer continued to regard them as future events even in his day.

3. Isaiah.

Portions of Isaiah indicate similar motifs, although none contains the entire sequence found in the above texts. Isa 27 is eschatological in tone, the slogan **ביום ההוא**

⁸⁵ The use of **עתה** at 4:11 need not contradict this. The term is often used to draw attention to an imminent or ideal future time (*BDB*, 774), as at Mic 5:3[4].

⁸⁶ The full programme of Zech 9-14 and the influence of the Baal Cycle on its writer are discussed in chapter VII.

occurring throughout (27:1,2,12,13).⁸⁷ There are hints of an eschatological programme in Isa 27:12-13. It describes a vast threshing, the gathering of the Israelites one by one, and the coming of the Israelites in Assyria and Egypt to worship in Zion. This *threshing* may indicate an eschatological rout of the nations. This is seen from analogy with other passages which employ threshing imagery similarly (Mic 4:12-13; Ps 83:14[13]), and from the context, which previously foretells the destruction of Leviathan, the tieromorphized forces of chaos (27:1). At that time the Israelites will be *gathered one by one*, a phrase signifying the completeness of the gathering, which Slotki paraphrases, 'Not a single exile will be left behind'.⁸⁸ Whether they are gathered before, during, or after, the conflict is not stated, although the text's simple order of events might suggest the last of these. Those lost in Assyria who are to return are the scattered tribes of the northern kingdom (2 Ki 15:29; 17:6).⁸⁹ Who those in Egypt are is not so clear. If the text is post-exilic it might refer to groups such as those mentioned in Jer 42-43.⁹⁰ But there seem to have been Israelite groups in Egypt before that time (Hos 11:11; Zech 10:10), possibly taken there as captives (1 Ki 14:25ff; 2 Chr 12:2), and a reference to other earlier Israelites in Egypt cannot be excluded. What can probably be said of this passage is that it seems to predict the return of the ten tribes and their worship in Zion at, or after, the eschatological conflict. There may or may not be a reference to the exiled southern kingdom.

The final chapters of Isaiah are also notably eschatological, foretelling the creation of new heavens and earth, and a utopian age of longevity, happiness, and reconciliation with brute creation (65:17-25). In this context appears again the familiar programme of events. First, an ingathering of Israel is the implied background to the chapter, for the return is a major theme in the preceding chapters.⁹¹ After this ingathering, Yhwh will gather all nations *to see my glory* (66:18). The phrase apparently indicates a theophanic conquest in war, for afterwards the *survivors* will testify to Yhwh's *glory* among the nations, and the corpses of those who rebelled will remain visible as an object lesson (66:19,24). Then the nations, who have now heard of Yhwh's glory, will bear the Israelites *from all the nations* to Jerusalem (66:20). This would include the ten tribes, as Deutero-Isaiah mentions only Babylon as the place of Judah's exile

⁸⁷ Widyapranawa describes Isa 24-27 as a 'long series of apocalyptic-eschatological prophecies', [Isaiah 1-39, 163].

⁸⁸ Slotki, *Isaiah*, 125.

⁸⁹ For an examination of the biblical accounts of the Assyrian captivity in the light of Assyrian records, see Becking, *The Fall of Samaria*, 61-93. He concludes that Assyrian texts confirm the historicity of the biblical accounts (92-3).

⁹⁰ So Widyapranawa, *Isaiah 1-39*, 163.

⁹¹ Isa 11:12; 40:11; 49:5; 49:17,18; 52:11-12; 54:7; 56:8; 58:8.

(48:20). The nations will worship before Yhwh, some even being selected as priests and Levites (66:21). The Israelites' *name will stand*, that is, they will be honoured (66:22). All mankind will come regularly to Jerusalem to worship there (66:23).

Isa 27:12-13.	———	War and deliverance.	Gathering of ten tribes. Israel worship on Zion.
Isa 66:18-24.	Implied ingathering of Israel from exile.	Gathering of nations against Jerusalem. Divine deliverance.	Gathering of all Israel. Worship of Israel and all nations on Zion.

The absence of an initial ingathering of Israel in Isa 27 may be because of its dating from before the Judaeen exile. Or the sequence may simply be incomplete. There was no obligation always to cite it in full. However both Isa 27 and 66 provide the last two motifs of the sequence in order, together with the concomitant ideas of a post-conflict gathering of the ten tribes, and the worship of Israel and the nations on Zion.

4. Jeremiah.

The book of Jeremiah contains two passages that confirm the tripartite sequence and some of its concomitant sub-motifs. Jer 3:6-18 can probably be regarded as a single pericope, opening with the time the prophet received the message and ending with an abrupt change of theme and language following v.18, where prose becomes poetry and utopian vision reverts to recital of Israel's misdeeds. This passage begins by telling allegorically how Yhwh exiled Israel, that is, the northern kingdom, for unfaithfulness, and proceeds to speak of Judah's unfaithfulness (3:6-10). Judah's exile, though not mentioned at this point, is implied in the later reference to their ingathering from a northern land (3:18). Israel, the northern kingdom, are to return – *one from a town and two from a clan* – to Zion (3:12-14). Then they will have rulers after Yhwh's heart and will multiply in the land (3:16). Jerusalem will be known internationally as Yhwh's seat. All nations will gather there to honour him and no longer follow evil (3:17). Judah and Israel will dwell together in the land, presumably worshipping and serving Yhwh faithfully, for these utopian events could hardly be imagined if Israel were still faithless (3:18). The motif of the nations' attack does not occur. But their homage at Jerusalem would imply that some kind of great international theophany and vindication of Israel has occurred. However, the absence of the eschatological attack motif does not signify ignorance of it, at least at the editorial level. For it occurs in the following chapter again in the context of a partial programme of future events. A *shofar* is to be blown throughout the land and the people exhorted to gather to Zion for safety (4:5-6), for a *destroyer of nations* is coming to lay waste the land and besiege Jerusalem (4:7, 16-17). The utopian aftermath does not follow here, as in the preceding chapter. But a utopian conclusion

can probably be imagined, not only because of the preceding chapter, but also because of the insistence elsewhere in Jeremiah on Israel's ultimately happy end (e.g. Jer 33:6-26).

A similar sequence of motifs can be discerned in the pericope Jer 23:1-8. Yhwh will gather his flock *from the north country and from all the lands* (23:8), a phrase denoting the Josephites in particular who were exiled in Assyria in the north (2 Ki 17:6; 1 Chr 5:26), rather than in southern Babylonia, where the Judahites were taken. He will raise up for them a righteous Davidic king (23:5). *In his days Judah will be saved* (תושע), *and Israel will live in safety*, an expression which would appear to denote deliverance and victory at a time of military threat and an ensuing peaceful *malkut* for the reunited twelve tribes (23:6). Then they will worship Yhwh, confessing that their latter deliverance surpasses the former Egyptian deliverance (23:7-8). The king's title, יהוה צדקנו *Yhwh our Vindication*, suggests that Israel's vindication is internationally acknowledged (23:6). The motif sequences in these passages are as follows.

Jer 3:6-18.	Partial ingathering of 'northern kingdom'.	(Implied theophany and vindication of Israel.)	Reunited Israel worship and serve Yhwh together with the nations.
Jer 4:5-6:30.	Gather to Zion.	Attack of nations.	
Jer 23:1-8.	Ingathering of Israel, particularly Josephites.	<i>Judah will be saved</i> in the time of the righteous Davidic king.	Reunited Israel worship Yhwh. They are vindicated before the nations.

The separate stages of the eschatological programme occur elsewhere in Jeremiah. Chapters 30-33 are the largest sustained treatment in the Bible of the future ingathering of Israel, with a particular emphasis on the restoration and gathering of Ephraim in 31.⁹² The theme of massive future war also occurs elsewhere in Jeremiah (Jer 28:8), where it is regarded as an ancient idea (26:18).

IV. Frequent Motifs of the Eschatological Programme.

Some important motifs, which occur repeatedly in these eschatological programmes, require to be briefly discussed individually.

⁹² The reference to the redemption of the Joseph tribes is noted by Davidson, *Jeremiah*, II:83. Jer 31 begins with the announcement that Yhwh will be the God of *all the clans of Israel* (v.1). Thereafter the repentance and return of the northern tribes occupies the first part of the chapter exclusively (cf. vv. 5, 8, 9, 15, 18-20). Then the return of Judah is predicted in the last verses of the vision (vv.23-26). The next section of the chapter refers to the return and revival of Israel and Judah together (vv. 27, 31, 36-37).

1. *The House of David.*

The eschatological programmes depict latterday Israel ruled by *bet*-David. It seems to be implied that a Davidic king will be present at the time of the ingathering, and possibly instigate or inspire it (Ezk 35:23; Zech 9:9-11; Mic 5:2[3]). *Bet*-David will fight in the eschatological conflict (Zech 13:8-9; Joel 4:2) and afterwards rule reunited Israel and the whole earth from Zion (Ezk 44:3; 46:16-18; Jer 3:17; 23:3-6; Mic 4:8-5:1[2]; Zech 9:9-10). This is in keeping with ideas about the eschatological role of the house of David elsewhere in the prophets. Isa 11 describes a Davidic king who will gather and reunite Israel (vv.12-13), destroy all opposition (vv.4,14-16), and rule righteously in a utopian age (vv.1-9). Jer 30:6 and 33:26 indicate a latterday Davidic kingdom. Hos 3:4-5 has latterday Israel gather to a restored Davidic *malkut*. Mic 5:1-3[2-4] speaks about a future Bethlehemite ruler to whom his dispersed brothers shall gather. Am 9:11-14 anticipates the restoration of *bet*-David, followed by Israel's conquest of the nations and a utopian age. Other texts refer to an undefined future leader supervising the gathering (Hos 2:2[1:11]; Mic 2:12-13).

2. *The Gathering of the Josephites.*

Another important motif of the eschatological programmes is the resurgence of the Josephites. Ezk 37:11 predicts a resurgence of כל-בית ישראל, which in the context of v.16 seems either to refer to Joseph alone, or to give him particular emphasis.⁹³ Ezk 37:19-22 predicts the gathering of Joseph along with Judah and the reunification of both in the land. Joseph is given prominence by being placed first (v.19). Zech 9:11 seems to predict the return of the Josephites from captivity. Zech 10:6-12 certainly does. It deals at greater length with Joseph than with Judah and their coming king (10:3-6a), and describes in detail their gathering, strengthening, and repatriation. Zeph 2:1-2, given its narrative standpoint in Josiah's time, appears to be an appeal for the gathering of the Ephraimites. Mic 5:3[4] looks forward to a group of probably Ephraimitic exiles returning to the nation of Israel. Isa 27:13 predicts the return of 'those lost in Assyria' to worship on Zion. Jer 23:1-8 predicts a future Davidic *malkut* in which Israel and Judah will be reunited in the land, the Josephites returning from their exile in the 'north country', Assyria (Jer 16:15; 23:8).

It is not entirely clear at which point in the programme this event is to happen. It seems sometimes to occur in connection with the initial pre-conflict gathering, and sometimes with the post-conflict gathering. Ezk 37:19-22 gives Joseph prominence over Judah which might indicate that they will be gathered first. Zech 9-14 places the

⁹³ See the discussion of the phrase כל-בית ישראל (Ezk 37:11) earlier in this chapter (§II.1).

gathering of Ephraim before the conflict in each of its two versions of the programme, which may suggest they will be gathered before the conflict. Zeph 2:1-2 calls for the nation, including Ephraim, to gather before the conflict. On the other hand, Isa 27:13 and Isa 66:20 appear to place this event after the conflict, while Mic 5:3[4] simply indicates that it will take place during the time of the anticipated Davidic ruler. These may represent variant ideas on the theme, possibly influenced by the authors' historical standpoint. Or they might be complementary, if it were allowed that the initial ingathering is partial and that the full gathering will take place only after Israel's vindication. In that case, perhaps a distinction should be made between the remnant of Ephraim living in the north of the land and the ten tribes exiled in Assyria.⁹⁴

The prominence in the eschatological programme of the theme of Josephite resurgence is in keeping with its frequency elsewhere in the prophets. Sometimes their resurgence is described in conjunction with Judah (Isa 11:12; Jer 30:3; 31:1; 32:30-37; 50:18-20; Ezk 16:53-55; 20:40-41; Ob 20⁹⁵) and sometimes alone (Isa 9:1-2; Jer 31:5-20; 49:20⁹⁶; Am 9:14-15, cf. 1:1; Mic 5:2[3]⁹⁷). But even when the resurgence is

⁹⁴ Some such harmonisation seems to have envisaged by rabbinic writers. See, for instance, the eschatological midrashim in Appendix I. In *Aggadat Mashiah*, Israel gather in Galilee under a Josephite Messiah before the conflict (19), and 'the exiles' gather to Jerusalem after the conflict (41-43). In *Otot ha-Mashiah*, there is a pre-conflict gathering of Josephites under the Josephite Messiah (6:5) followed by a post-conflict gathering of the tribes (10:1-3). In *'Asereth Melakhim*, Israel gather in Galilee under a Josephite Messiah before the conflict (13) and the nine and a half tribes gather after the conflict (16). In *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai*, Israel gathers under an Ephraimite Messiah before the conflict (22), and 'all Israel' gathers after the conflict (30). See also Sa'adya, who has the Josephites gather in Galilee under their Josephite Messiah before the conflict (VIII.v; Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 301) and, citing Isa 66:20, all the remnant of Israel gather after the conflict (VIII.vi; Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 308).

⁹⁵ The interpretation of this verse is problematic. What is גלת החל-הזה לבני ישראל אשר כנענים? LXX has καὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῇ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ γῆ τῶν Χαναναίων, *And this prince of the captivity (will give ?) to the sons of Israel the land of the Canaanites*. We have adopted here the suggestion of RSV, that החל-הזה is a corruption of 'Halah,' one of the places where the exiles of the northern kingdom were scattered (2 Ki 17:6; 1 Chr 5:26). But whether this is correct or not, the verse proceeds to speak of Jerusalem exiles repossessing the southern part of the land, and of another group repossessing the north. This other group probably comprises northerners.

⁹⁶ Unlike modern English translations (RSV, NIV), which make צעירי הצֶּבֶן the object of the sentence, rabbinic tradition (GenR 73:7; 75:5-6; 97 [NV in Soncino edn.]; 99:2; Sa'adya, *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.v.[Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 302]) and AV make it the subject: *Surely the young of the flock [the children of Rachel] shall drag them [the Edomites] away*. This is by no means an unlikely interpretation, for several reasons. (1) The question, *Who is the chosen one I shall appoint for this . . . Who is the shepherd will stand against me?* (Jer 49:19) goes unanswered if the *young of the flock* is not the subject of v.20. (2) The *young of the flock* is an apt designation for the children of Rachel (רחל, *ewe*), the shepherdess (Gen 29:9), who is herself referred to as הצעירה, *the young one*, at Gen 29:26. (3) As noted above, the resurgence of Joseph is a frequent theme throughout Jeremiah, and also in the nearer context of 49:20 (50:18-20).

in conjunction with Judah, the Josephites seem to receive particular prominence. Those passages which mention both groups place Joseph first (Isa 11:12; Jer 30:3; 32:30,32; 50:20; Ob 20). And in describing the repatriation of the whole nation, Jer 50:18-20 refers to areas only in Josephite territory. The resurgence of the Josephites is a frequent theme in post-biblical literature also.⁹⁸ The only known dissenter was Akiva, whose view is said to have been publicly censured (bSanh 110b).

3. The Shofar.

Every mention but one of the *shofar* in prophetic literature occurs in the broad context of an eschatological programme.⁹⁹ In the programme of Zech 9:9-17, it seems to signify coming victory in the ultimate holy war: *Lord Yhwh sounds the shofar and marches in the storms of the south* (9:14). In the brief programme of Isa 27:12-13, a great *shofar* will be blown at the time of the conflict and the scattered Israelites will gather to Zion (v.13). In other passages it signifies jeopardy rather than salvation. Preceding the programme of Joel, the sounding of the *shofar* on Zion appears to be a ritual at time of national threat, in order to gather the people together (2:15) and possibly to put Yhwh in remembrance of their plight (2:1). Following the programme of Jer 3:6-18, the *shofar* is to be sounded throughout the land in order to gather the people to Zion before disaster comes from the north (4:5). At Zeph 1:16 the day of the Lord is a day of *shofar* and *teru'ah*, suggesting anguished plea, by means of the *zikhron* ritual, for divine assistance. In each of these passages, whether the context is deliverance or disaster, the *shofar* is blown either before or at the time of the impending conflict. There is no clear reference to its being blown in the post-conflict *malkut*. This is consistent with Asaphite tradition's depiction of *hazozerah* and *shofar* being used for gathering and *zikhron* in time of war.

V. The Language of the Ingathering-Programme.

A comparison of all the biblical texts referring to the ingatherings of the prophetic eschatological programme suggests that there may have been a tendency to use particular verbs for its particular aspects.¹⁰⁰ In texts referring to the gathering of Israel,

⁹⁷ It refers to a time of 'gestation' after which the brothers of the Bethlehemite *moshel* (v.1[2]) *will return to the sons of Israel*. This would appear to represent one group of Israelites resident in the land and the rest (יִתְרִי "remnant") in exile [Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 44]. A reference to the return of the northern kingdom's exiles is therefore likely.

⁹⁸ Tob 13:13; 1 En 57:1-2; 90:33; SibOr 2:170-173; ApocBar 78:1-7; 84:2-10; 4 Ezra 13:12,39-47; mSanh 10:3; Otot 10:1; AsM 4:16.

⁹⁹ The exception is Amos 3:6, where the reference is to the divine origin of a threatened military disaster.

¹⁰⁰ These texts are cited in Appendix II.

the predominant verb is קָבַץ, with some thirty occurrences to ten of אָסַף. In reference to the gathering to war, אָסַף predominates, with eight occurrences to six of קָבַץ. In regard to the gathering to worship, עָלָה predominates, with seven occurrences to six of קָבַץ and two of אָסַף.¹⁰¹ The programme in Zech 9-14 seems to be, in this as in other things, a paradigm or crystallization of earlier tendencies. It uses קָבַץ in regard to the gathering of the exiled Josephites, (Zech 10:8,10), אָסַף for the subsequent gathering of the nations against Jerusalem (Zech 12:3; 14:2), and עָלָה for the gathering to worship at Sukkoth on Zion (14:16-19). Other verbs used include the infrequent לָקַט, קוּדָה, הִתְקַשֵּׁשׁ, כָּנַס, and also בּוֹא, הָשִׁיב, and הוֹצִיא, which occur more regularly, but whose frequency throughout the Bible renders their particular use undistinctive. Thus the key verbs employed for the different ingathering stages of the prophets' eschatological programme are somewhat as follows.

Gathering of Israel from exile.	Gathering of hostile nations.	Ascent to worship on Zion.
קָבַץ (also אָסַף).	אָסַף (also קָבַץ).	עָלָה (also קָבַץ and אָסַף).

VI. Summary.

A number of biblical texts feature what may fairly be described as programmes of eschatological events. The best examples are Ezk 34-48, Zech 9-14, and Joel 3-4, which contain detailed programmes, apparently dependent on similar ancient traditions. Zechariah and Joel seem also to be dependent on Ezekiel, and to be attempting to describe the same events. Although they differ in detail, there is substantial agreement in their broad picture. Yhwh will gather scattered Israel to the land promised to their forefathers. Thereafter an alliance of hostile nations will gather to attack them. Yhwh will destroy the invaders and save Israel. Then Israel will worship Yhwh on Zion, together with the survivors of the nations. The same programme, either in eschatological or generally future time, is discernable also in Zephaniah, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. If we add to these texts Daniel, where a similar programme is also found,¹⁰² and other texts which seem to contain particular aspects of it,¹⁰³ then it seems plausible to suggest that some sort of eschatological

¹⁰¹ A further occurrence of עָלָה may refer to the ascent to worship, if its ironic use at Ezk 38:9 is included, where Gog ascends to Jerusalem to be a sacrificial offering at Yhwh's festive feast for the wild beasts and birds (39:17-20).

¹⁰² The eschatological programme of Dan 9:24-27 resembles the full form of the programme in Zech 9-14. It shall therefore be discussed in chapter VII, following the discussion of the Zecharian programme.

¹⁰³ The individual motifs of the eschatological programme, ingathering of Israel, ingathering of hostile nations, and ingathering to worship, occur in Deuteronomy, Nehemiah, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, and 2 Chronicles. The relevant passages are cited in Appendix II. A case could probably be made for finding implied motif-sequences in some of these texts, such as 2 Chr 36:23. But that is beyond the scope of our present study.

programme, with motifs similar to those identified above, was widely recognized in biblical times and is an important aspect of OT eschatology. Moreover a similar sequence of motifs occurs in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, and there is evidence that ingathering was regarded as an eschatological divine action in Mesopotamia. This suggests that the Israelite motifs and sequences were neither particularly Israelite nor a particularly late development, although the more consistently eschatological form of the programme may have been unique to Israel.

VI. The Eschatological Programme and the Psalter.

At this stage we must ingather and summarize our research so far. I have suggested that the Psalms of Asaph and the Songs of Ascents might plausibly be read as representing quite individual and distinct sequences of eschatological ingathering. The Asaph Psalms could be taken as depicting a sequence of latterday events beginning with the ingathering of Israel to judgment in a time of national distress and desolation, and culminating in the gathering of a ten-nation alliance against them. The Ascents could be read as representing Israel being gathered for festive thanksgiving at the latterday Feast of Sukkoth in the aftermath of deliverance from enemies who arose overwhelmingly against them.

I also investigated eschatological programmes in the prophetic books and found that ingathering was one of their principal themes. A number of ingathering motifs usually occur in the same sequence. The most important ones are, first, an ingathering of Israel from exile, second, an ingathering of hostile nations against Israel, and third, an ingathering of Israel and the surviving nations to worship on Zion.

On the basis of this research I now wish to make the central proposition of this thesis, which is that a resemblance can be discerned between the event-sequences of the psalm-cycles on the one hand, and the eschatological programmes of the prophetic literature, particularly Zech 9-14, on the other. Specifically, I would suggest that the themes and events of the Psalms of Asaph correspond to the early, pre-deliverance stages of the eschatological programme, from the ingathering of Israel to the conflict, while the themes and events of the Songs of Ascents correspond to the post-conflict ascent to worship at Sukkoth, as described in Zech 14. This may be demonstrated as follows.

The Asaph Psalms (Pss 50, 73-83).		The Ascents (Pss 120-134).
Ingathering of scattered Israel from exile.	Ingathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem.	Gathering of Israel and nations to celebrate Sukkoth on Zion.

In this chapter I shall try to demonstrate the plausibility of this hypothesis by comparing and contrasting the two psalm-cycles directly, the better to see their characteristic features, and relating their characteristics to the motifs of the eschatological programme in Zech 9-14 and the other prophetic books. These comparisons shall be made under seven heads: psalm heading and tradition, event-

sequence, view of God, condition of Israel, prominent figures, imagery, and other characteristics.

I. Psalm Heading and Tradition.

The key word for the Psalms of Asaph is **אסף**. It occurs in the heading of all twelve psalms and is the first word of the first divine oracle in the first psalm of the group (Ps 50:5). This word, as noted earlier, connotes the Levite Asaph, his guild of prophet-musicians, and the themes of ingathering and *mazkir* prophecy connected with Israel's holy war traditions at times of foreign invasion. The key word for the Songs of Ascents, on the other hand, is **עלה**. It occurs in the heading of all fifteen psalms and in the lyrics of Pss 122:4 and 132:3. It connotes a complex of traditions connected with pilgrimage to and worship at the appointed feasts, particularly the Feast of Sukkoth.

We noted in the previous chapter that the distinctive linguistic elements for each ingathering stage of the prophetic programme are as follows.

Gathering of Israel from exile.	Gathering of hostile nations.	Ascent to worship on Zion.
קבץ (also אסף).	אסף (also קבץ).	עלה (also קבץ and אסף).

The root **אסף** occurs frequently in regard to the first two gathering stages of the eschatological programme. This would suggest a correspondence between the Psalms of Asaph and the pre-deliverance ingatherings of the prophetic programme. In addition, the *mazkir* and holy war traditions connected with these psalms, in which Yhwh is reminded of Israel's plight by prophetic song and music at times of foreign invasion, are quite appropriate to the prophetic picture of the eschatological onslaught of the nations. The root **עלה**, on the other hand, is the predominant word in regard to the post-deliverance ascent to worship on Zion. This would suggest a correspondence between the Psalms of Asaph and the later post-deliverance ingathering of the prophetic programme.

It might be objected that the predominance of **קבץ** in prophetic texts referring to the ingathering of Israel militates against **אסף** being representative for that stage of the prophetic programme. However a number of considerations suggest that **אסף** might indeed have been regarded as a representative term for both the pre-deliverance ingatherings.

(1) Both **קבץ** and **אסף** are often used interchangeably for both pre-deliverance ingatherings. **אסף** refers to the ingathering of Israel ten times, **קבץ** to the gathering

of the nations six times. Both terms appear in parallel five times for the gathering of Israel (Isa 11:12; Ezc 11:17; Mic 2:12 *bis*; 4:6) and twice for the gathering of the nations (Mic 4:11-12; Zeph 3:8). Clearly both terms were understood as applicable to both ingathering stages.

(2) As we shall see more clearly in our examination of Zech 11-13 in chapter VII, the attack of the hostile nations is, in a sense, the real culmination of Israel's initial latterday ingathering. Thus the verb **אסף**, as particularly denoting the climactic attack, would serve well as a key word for the entire pre-deliverance period.

(3) The verb **אסף**, connoting Asaph and the *mazkir* tradition, binds together the ideas of Israel's gathering for defence in a time of attack, Yhwh's being petitioned on their behalf, and Israel's holy war rituals. Thus this verb connects the idea of Israel invaded by the nations in a way that **קבץ** does not.

(4) In biblical times the verb **אסף** had a wide range of meanings of an ultimate and final nature. It was used of human death, of harvest, of the death of the year, and presumably by implication of the death of an epoch. This root would therefore be ideal to describe the events of the end of the era preceding the inauguration of God's *malkut*. The root **קבץ**, which does not share this wide range of teleological meanings, would not serve this purpose as well.

(5) There is some evidence that, in intertestamental times, when the Psalter probably underwent its final redaction, **אסף** was already beginning to replace **קבץ** as the key word for both pre-deliverance ingatherings.

In both LXX and the Greek apocrypha and pseudepigrapha the principal verb for ingathering is *συνάγω*.¹ In LXX it commonly renders all the Hebrew 'gathering' verbs: **קבץ**, **אסף**, **לקט**, **קוה**, **והקשש**, and **כנס**. However there are exceptions, and they are instructive. In every case but one **אסף** is rendered by forms of *συνάγω*, the exception being Isa 58:8, where the translator, apparently wanting to stress the idea of *enfolding*, has used *περιστέλλω*. **קבץ** is also regularly rendered *συνάγω*, but not as consistently as **אסף**. In several instances it is rendered by other verbs of virtually identical meaning, forms of *δέχομαι*, for no apparent reason (Jer 23:3; Ezc 20:34; Zeph 3:19,20). But most instructive of all are those cases in which the two Hebrew verbs occur in parallel, and two distinct Greek verbs would be expected in the translation. The Isaiah translator renders both Hebrew verbs with *συνάγω*, in the two instances where they occur in parallel (Isa 11:12; 43:9). This merely confirms the predominance of *συνάγω* as the key term for ingathering. However in every other case where the Hebrew verbs occur in parallel (Ezc 11:17; Mic 2:12; 4:6; Zeph 3:8), the translators render **אסף** by *συνάγω*, and **קבץ** by forms of *δέχομαι*. Likewise, the rendering of **קבץ** by forms of *δέχομαι* at Zech 10:8,10 seems intentionally to point up the distinctive use of the Hebrew verbs in this passage, as we noted in the previous paragraph. It therefore seems that whenever **אסף** and **קבץ** are in competition for the Greek key-word *συνάγω*, there is a bias toward **אסף**. However, the increasing dominance of **אסף** does not seem to have any influence on those texts featuring **עלה**, which is rendered by Greek verbs other than *συνάγω*.

This tendency may possibly be discernable in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well.² They employ **אסף** both for the gathering of Israel (1QSa I.1) and for the gathering of nations against Israel (1QM XIV.5).

¹ Apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts referring to ingathering are cited in Appendix II.

² The eschatological programme implicit in Qumran texts will be discussed in chapter VII.

However, קבץ is never, as far as I am aware, employed in eschatological contexts.³ עלה may be used of the latterday post-deliverance ascent to Jerusalem in 1QM I.3. But the text is tantalisingly incomplete. Vermes renders it: '... when the exiled sons of light return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem; and after the battle they shall go up (יעלו) from there (to Jerusalem?).'⁴ The reading 'Jerusalem' seems likely. These opening verses of the scroll would appear to summarise its subsequent events, and, while the end of the scroll is missing, the victory song of 1QM XIX suggests that triumphal procession to Zion is in view: *Zion, rejoice greatly! Rejoice, all cities of Judah!* (XIX.5). Moreover this exhortation to Zion to rejoice מואדה seems to allude to Zech 9:9, and so the consummation of the Zecharianic vision, progress to Jerusalem, might be expected here also. Certainly other suggested readings seem less likely. עלה would hardly be used of progress to Egypt, as Lohse suggests.⁵ Egypt from biblical perspective is down, geographically and otherwise, and never up (cf. ירד at Isa 30:2; 31:1). It is equally unlikely that it is the nations who will go up after the battle, as Dupont-Sommer suggests.⁶ The whole theme of 1QM is the total destruction of the nations (I.5-6). The only possible alternative to 'Jerusalem' would be that in 1QM XIV.2, where the ascent is from *the slain to the camp*. But that is unlikely to have been considered the ultimate destination of the victorious armies. Thus Vermes's suggestion, that the ascent is to Jerusalem, seems likely, in which case עלה has the same overtones in 1QM's eschatological programme as it has in Zechariah's.

A few facts appear from this. First, the key Greek verb for latterday ingathering was συνάγω. This is suggested by its overall predominance, even to the extent of the Isaiah translator's rendering parallel occurrences of the two Hebrew verbs by this one word. Second, a tendency to link אסף with συνάγω at the expense of קבץ is discernable in LXX. Moreover אסף is the only verb used for latterday ingathering in the Qumran literature. This suggests that in early Second Temple times, אסף may have been displacing קבץ for at least the first two aspects of the ingathering programme, the pre-deliverance gatherings of Israel and of the nations against Jerusalem. However, the post-conflict ascent to worship is usually rendered by Greek terms quite distinct from συνάγω, and עלה may be used of this aspect of the ingathering programme in the Qumran literature. There is therefore no reason to think that עלה ceased to be the key-word for the post-deliverance gathering to Zion. We would therefore tentatively suggest that in Hebrew usage of Second Temple times the key-words associated with the different aspects of eschatological ingathering may have been as follows.

אסף		עלה
Gathering of Israel from exile.	Gathering of nations to war.	Ascent to worship on Zion.

Thus it would appear that there is some ground for regarding אסף as the key word for the gatherings of the pre-deliverance period and עלה as the key word for the post-deliverance ascent to worship on Zion. This supports a connection between the לאסף Psalms and the prophetic programme's pre-deliverance period and the מעלות psalms and the post-deliverance period.

As regards the traditions associated with the headings, we noted, in chapter III, that the Asaph Psalms seem to be connected with Israel's holy war traditions and in particular with the Asaphites, who apparently were associated with the rituals of sounding the trumpet for gathering and *zikhron* in time of war. We also noted, in the preceding chapter, that the sounding of the *shofar* occurs frequently in the pre-

³ At pHab VIII.11; IX.5 and 4QpNah 11 it is used in reference to the acquisition of wealth.

⁴ Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 105.

⁵ Lohse, *Die Texte*, 181.

⁶ Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, 170.

deliverance period of the eschatological programmes of the prophets, and that its uses there accord with those of Asaphite tradition. This similarity of motifs further supports a connection between the Asaph Psalms and the pre-deliverance period of the prophetic eschatological programmes.

We noted, in chapter IV, that the Songs of Ascents seem to be connected with traditions of Temple worship at the Feast of Sukkoth. We also noted, in the preceding chapter, that Zech 14:16-19 depicts the post-deliverance *malkut* as being distinguished by observance of this feast, and that Ezekiel sees the celebration of Sukkoth and the other appointed feasts as a characteristic of the eschatological age (45:21-25; 46:9-11). The Songs of Ascents would therefore correspond well to the celebration of Sukkoth in the post-deliverance *malkut* of the prophetic eschatological programmes.

II. Event-Sequence.

The event-sequence of the Psalms of Asaph begins with an ingathering of Israel to the presence of God (50:5), during which time they are led by a divinely appointed ruler (80:16-18[15-17]), and ends with a massive attack of allied nations against Jerusalem (83:2-9[1-8]). This is exactly the sequence of events which characterizes the first stages of the eschatological programme in the prophets.

The Songs of Ascents seem to depict a faithful Israelite living among the nations who forsakes his erstwhile home and makes pilgrimage to worship at the feast in Zion, arriving joyfully and worshipping at the feast there and departing from it in fullness of *shalom*. Such a sequence of events would correspond to the prophetic picture of the remnant of Israel gathering from the lands in the aftermath of the divine deliverance.

III. View of God.

1. *The Psalms of Asaph: Divine Judgment of the Wicked.*

The distinctive theological characteristic of the Asaph Psalms is divine judgment of the wicked.⁷ The root שפט occurs fourteen times in the Asaph and deuterio-Asaph Psalms (50:6; 75:3,8[2,7]; 76:10[9]; 81:5[4]; 82:1,2,3,8; 96:13,13; 105:5,7; 106:3), and ייך thrice (50:4; 76:9[8]; 96:10). In a few cases this judgment is directed against the unspecified wicked in general (50:16ff; 73:18ff., 27; 75:8-9 [7-8]). More often it is directed against Israel or against the nations.

⁷ This has also been noted by Illman, who points out that conflict, or punishment, or judgment is a theme in every Asaph Psalm. He notes that judgment is sometimes directed at Israel and sometimes at

Judgment on Israel is a frequent theme. At Ps 50 *El Elohim Yhwh speaks and summons earth from sunrise to sunset. . . He calls to the heavens above, and to the earth, to judge [דין] his people . . . for Elohim, is about to judge [שפט]* (vv.1,4,6). Elsewhere in the collection he has judged them by rejecting them (74:1; 77:8ff[7ff]; 78:59), by subjugating them and destroying the temple by the hand of the nations (74:1-8; 78:59-64; 79:1-9; 80:4-8,13-14[3-7,12-13]), by ceasing communication with them (74:9), and by putting them to death in the wilderness (78:31-34). The reason for this judgment is their disbelief and disloyalty to the covenant (78:21-22, 32, 37, 56-58; 79:8; 81:12-13[11-12]).

However, the nations, God's instrument of wrath on Israel, also suffer judgment, as does the whole earth. The nations figure prominently in the Asaph Psalms. The noun [גוים] occurs eight times, and most occurrences of שפט and דין refer to the nations. At Ps 75 the powers of east and west will be impotent when God executes judgment at his appointed time (v.3[2] שפט, v.8[7] שפט) against the wicked of the earth (v.9[8]). At Ps 76 God is terrible to the kings of earth (v.13[12]). He uttered דין and arose to establish משפט (9-10[8-9]) and the enemy were devastated (vv.4-7[3-6]). Ps 82 differs in an interesting way. God judges the *elohim*, the representative deities of the nations, rather than the nations themselves. He rises amidst the divine assembly to pronounce judgment, apparently death, upon them for their maladministration of the earth (vv.1,7). The root שפט occurs four times, the first and last referring to God's judgment of the *elohim* (vv.1,7), and the second and third being his indictment of their failure in judgment (vv.2,3).

Six, or possibly seven, further Asaph Psalms contain the idea of judgment of the earth, although שפט and דין do not occur. In Ps 74 God, the creator of earth and destroyer of cosmic chaos (vv.15-17), is exhorted to arise and no longer withhold his hand from those who have destroyed his sanctuary (vv.11,22,3-8). Ps 77 recalls the exodus, when God displayed his strength among the peoples and redeemed Israel with his arm (vv.15-19[14-18]). Ps 78 recalls the judgments on Egypt with references to God's anger, wrath, and indignation (vv.43-50), when he put his adversaries to *rout* and to *everlasting shame* (vv.43-50). At Ps 79 God is exhorted to pour out his anger on the nations which do not know him, to avenge his servants and recompense sevenfold the destruction of Jerusalem (vv.1-7,10,12). Ps 80:17[16] is ambiguous, but may contain a

the nations [*Thema und Tradition*, 30-38, 42-43]. It is also noted by McCann, "Books I-III," 98, in McCann (ed.), *Shape and Shaping*, 93-107.

wish that the destroyers of Israel perish at the rebuke of God's countenance (v.17[16]).⁸ At Ps 81 God will subdue Israel's enemies if they obey him (vv.14-16[13-15]). Ps 83 is a fitting consummation to the theme of judgment of the nations, exhorting God to destroy all the nations which oppose him and his people, as he has destroyed other nations in the past (vv.2-13[1-12]). The psalm concludes with a list of fearful destructions and humiliations that will cause them to acknowledge Yhwh's sovereignty over *all the earth* (vv.14-19[13-18]).

Only two psalms with the Asaph heading (50, 73) do not refer to the judgment of the nations. However Ps 50 makes a distinction between those addressed as *my people* and *the wicked* (vv.7,16), who presumably are not Yhwh's people. Thus, whether *the wicked* are biological Israelites or *goyim*, they are effectively heathen and under Yhwh's judgment. Likewise Ps 73 does not mention the nations, but speaks in no uncertain terms about the destruction of the wicked in general (vv.3,18-20,27). This probably applies both to foreigners and Israelites, those who are *far away* from Yhwh and those who are *unfaithful* (v.27). It appears then that the judgment of the nations is explicit in ten Asaph psalms and implicit in two. This is a significantly higher occurrence than in the Psalter as a whole, where the theme occurs explicitly in only six other psalms (2:1-12; 7:9; 9:6-9,19-20; 94:10; 96:13; 98:9). Moreover, every one of the four divine oracles in the Asaph group has divine judgment as its theme (50:5-23; 75:3-6[2-5]; 81:7-17[6-16]; 82:2-7). This must therefore be regarded as a prominent characteristic of the Asaph Psalms.

Related to the theme of divine judgment is that of God's anger. There are eight occurrences of אַף in the main Asaph collection (74:1; 76:8[7]; 77:10[9]; 78:21; 78:31; 78:38; 78:49; 78:50), and one more at deutero-Asaph 106:40. All refer to the anger of God. Elsewhere in the Psalter the term is used of God's anger fifteen times.⁹ Thus the Asaph and deutero-Asaph Psalms, which comprise about ten per cent of the Psalter, contain more than a third of its references to divine אַף. Similarly, there are

⁸ There is ambiguity as to whether Israel or her enemies perish in this verse: *It [the vine] is burned with fire, it is cut down; from the rebuke of your countenance they perish or let them perish or they will perish* (אִם־יִכָּרֵם). Briggs argues that the subject is the enemies [*Psalms*, II:207]; Tate agrees [*Psalms*, 308]. Delitzsch, however, rightly notes that the enemies are at no point named in the context and that the expression is quite consistent with the metaphor of the vine [*Psalms*, II:445]. LXX's future tense, ἀπολοῦνται, might more readily refer to the enemies, because Israel's devastation is present fact to the psalmist, not a future one. However, such a viewpoint could well be that of the LXX translator. It must probably be admitted that the Hebrew itself remains ambiguous.

⁹ I have discounted the use of the word in describing God as *slow to anger*, for this indicates not his active anger, but his patience (86:15; 103:8; 145:8). The term is also used of human anger (37:8; 55:4[3]; 124:3; 138:7) and *nostrils* (10:4; 18:9,16[8,15; 115:6])

five occurrences of חמה in the Asaph and deutero-Asaph Psalms (76:10[11] *twice*; 78:38; 79:6; 106:23). All are in some way connected with God's wrath.¹⁰ Elsewhere in the Psalter it is used of God's wrath six times.¹¹ Therefore almost half the references to divine חמה are found in the Asaph ten per cent of the Psalter. Again, three of the Psalter's four occurrences of *hithpael* עבר occur in Asaph Ps 78:21,59,62. Other similar words occurring in the collection are the nouns עברה (78:49), one of five in the Psalter, זעם (78:49), one of four, חרון (78:49), one of six, קנאה (79:5), one of three; and the verb אנף (79:5), one of four. Wrath is expressed in other terms. At God's advent as judge *a tempest rages around him*, the same verb, שער, as is used of military wrath at Dan 11:40. In addition, אש *fire* is a common metaphor for anger. It occurs thirteen times in the Asaph and deutero-Asaph Psalms (50:3; 74:7; 78:14,21,63; 79:5; 80:17[16]; 83:15[14]; 89:47,46; 105:32,39; 106:18). This is almost half the total occurrences in the Psalter, where it occurs elsewhere fourteen or fifteen times.¹² Likewise, three of the Psalter's seven occurrences of בער (79:5; 83:15[14]; 106:18) are found in these Psalms.

The outworking of divine anger is destruction or subjugation. Such terminology abounds in the Asaph Psalms. God will *tear to pieces* the wicked (50:22). He is *glorious, mighty from the mountains of prey* [ie., the defeated enemy] (76:5:4). God *slew* the Israelites (78:34). Asaph Ps 75:1 is one of the four psalm headings containing the plea אל-תשחת *Do not destroy*. This phrase seems to be a plea that God would not destroy Israel. At least, that is what it means at its only other occurrence in the Bible, Dt 9:26. The midrash on Psalms interprets both phrases similarly.

For the leader: Al-tashheth. These words are to be considered in the light of what Scripture says elsewhere: *For the Lord your God is a merciful God; He will not fail you, nor destroy you* (Dt 4:31), and also, *And I prayed unto the Lord, and said: 'O Lord God, destroy not your people'* (Dt 9:26). The Holy One, blessed be he, answered Moses: *I will not destroy, as it is said, And the Lord hearkened to me that time also; the Lord would not destroy you* (Dt 10:10). Asaph also said to the Holy One, blessed be he: *Master of the Universe, even as you listened to Moses, so listen to us.*¹³

Thus Ps 75 seems to reckon that Israel is in imminent peril of destruction by the wrath of God. Other terms of destruction in the Asaph Psalms are אבד (73:27; 80:17[16];

¹⁰ Ps 76:10[11] is an interpretational knot. Nonetheless, it is connected with God's wrath in that he is to be thanked as a result of this wrath, and to gird himself with it. Moreover the context of the entire psalm is God's slaughter of an enemy host.

¹¹ It signifies snake venom at 58:5[4] (*twice*) and 140:4[3], and human anger at 37:8.

¹² It occurs in some MT mss at Ps 18:14[13]. This however may be dittography. It is absent from other mss, and these are supported by LXX and 2 Sam 22:14.

¹³ MidTeh. 75.1.

83:18[17]), שבר (74:13; 76:4[3]; 105:16,33), חרף (78:66; 79:4,9), and בהל (83:16,18[15,17]). Sometimes these verbs denote God destroying the nations, and sometimes the nations destroying Israel. But either way, they describe God's judgment, for the Asaph Psalms regard the nations as agents of divine judgment on Israel (78:56-64; 79:5-9).

The reason for God's judgment on the wicked, whether Israel or the nations, is because of their guilt and sin. Such terminology is frequent in the Asaph Psalms. The collection begins with God's arraignment of those who hate his laws, spurn his instruction, break the eighth, seventh, and ninth commandments, and forget him (50:16-22). Similarly, Ps 73 describes the wicked as proud, violent, callous, malicious, arrogant, oppressive, blaspheming heaven, and dominating earth (73:6-10). Verbal forms of חטא occur three times in Asaph and deuterio-Asaph Psalms (78:17,32; 106:6). These all refer to Israel's sin, a usage unique to this group in the Psalter.¹⁴ Likewise, one of the Psalter's two uses of חטאת for Israel's sin is at Asaph Ps 79:9. Three of the Psalter's half dozen or so references to Israel's עון occur in Asaph and deuterio-Asaph Psalms (78:38; 79:8; 106:43).¹⁵

Finally, although the Asaph Psalms perceive God as active in judgment, they perceive him as inactive on Israel's behalf. Particular attention is given to the theme of his arising from inactivity, קום being used three times (74:22; 76:10[9]; 82:8), עור three times (73:20; 78:38; 80:3[2]) and קוץ twice (73:20; 78:65) of his arising from sleep. Similarly, the cry *How long?* (74:10; 79:5; 80:5[4]) denotes God's inactivity, as does *God, be not silent, be not quiet, do not sleep!* (83:2[1]), and other expressions (74:11; 77:8-10[7-9]; 79:10). Taken in order these describe what will happen when God arises (73:20), exhort him to arise (74:10,22), reminisce about his former not arising in mercy and his former arising in judgment (76:10[9]; 78:38,65), exhort him to arise (80:3,5[2,4]), describe his arising against the *elohim* (82:1,8), and exhort him to arise against the nations (83:2[1]). Yet God is not said to be presently arising on their behalf. In their time of trouble he is inactive.

¹⁴ Six more verbal forms of this root occur elsewhere in the Psalms (4:5[4]; 39:2[1]; 41:5[4]; 51:6,9[4,7]; 119:11). All refer to individual sin.

¹⁵ Elsewhere it occurs at Pss 85:3[2]; 90:8; 130:8. Ps 103:10 probably refers to Israel. Ps 130:3 refers to Yhwh's general willingness to forgive, but the context concerns Israel (v.8).

2. *The Songs of Ascents: Divine blessing of the faithful.*

In contrast, the Songs of Ascents appear unconcerned with judgment, whether of the nations or of anyone else. **דִּין** is absent as are verbal forms of **שפט**. The noun **משפט** occurs at 122:5, but only in the sense of civil justice. The nations, rather than suffering judgment, recount Yhwh's great deeds to Israel (126:2). Even the punishment of the wicked is only once mentioned passingly (129:5-8).

The theological characteristic of the Ascents is divine blessing of the faithful. The root **ברך** occurs eleven times, and **אשרי** thrice. Blessing dicta using other vocabulary also occur (121:8; 122:6-8; 125:5; 128:6). The concept is expressed in other ways as well. For instance, Ps 121's sixfold repetition of **שמר** emphasizes the divine protection surrounding the faithful pilgrim; Ps 125 speaks of Yhwh surrounding the righteous; Ps 127 highlights divine protection of state and family. Altogether thirteen of the fifteen Songs of Ascents conclude with some kind of greeting or blessing formula (121:8; 122:8; 124:8; 125:5; 126:5; 127:5; 128:6; 129:8; 130:7; 131:3; 132:14-18; 133:3; 134:3). Moreover, the only divine oracle in the collection has as its theme blessing on the house of David, on Zion, and on her citizens (132:14-18).

Those who are blessed are the faithful. Faithful trust is variously expressed: **בטח** (125:1), **קוה** (130:5 twice), **יחל** (130:5,7; 131:3), **ירא** (128:1,4). The formulaic dicta acknowledging Yhwh as helper (121:2; 124:8) also express trust, as does the lifting of eyes in Ps 123:1. The blessing the faithful enjoy, not found outside Yhwh's land (120:6-7), is **שלום**, a word occurring seven times in the Ascents.

The theme of divine anger is absent from the Songs of Ascents. Indeed, anger itself is virtually absent. No term describing anger occurs in the collection except **אף**, once at 124:3, where it refers to the anger of human foes. Israel were delivered from this enmity by Yhwh, and so the term indicates his salvation rather than his wrath. Nor is there any reference to fire. The threat of past enmity at Ps 124 is likened to water, a less urgent image, suggesting not rage, but unruly cosmic forces. There is no indication in the Ascents of present wrath or destruction, divine or human, against Israel. Ps 129:5 asks that *all who hate Zion be put to shame and turned back*. But in the context, a reminiscence of former deliverance, this seems to be a general statement that all enmity to Zion is doomed to failure. The theme of present destruction and subjugation is likewise absent from the Ascents. The roots **אבד**, **חרף**, and **בהל** do not occur. In Ps 124:7 **שבר** occurs once, but describes only the breaking of the fowler's snare which the nations set for Israel. Enmity certainly is referred to in Pss

123:4; 124:1-8; 129:1-8, but it is in the past, and is now recounted calmly without the violent and destructive language and imagery of the Asaph Psalms. It is beautified in imagery of the natural world and, in Ps 127, even whimsified in a pun (Pss 124:7; 129:3-4). This calm about past enmity confirms that Israel has been completely delivered from danger. One is reminded of the words of R. Nachum Yanchiker at the German slaughter of Jews on the invasion of Poland.

And when the world returns again to stability and quiet, never become weary of teaching the glories, the wisdom, the Torah and the *Musar* of Lithuania, the beautiful and ethical life which Jews lived here. Do not become embittered by wailing and tears. Speak of these matters with calmness and serenity, as did our holy sages in the Midrash *Lamentations Rabbati*.¹⁶

The theme of sin is also not prominent in the Ascents. There are no arraignments of the wicked, nor descriptions of their deeds. The root חטא and its derived forms do not occur. עון does occur twice (130:3,8), but the context is not iniquity's guilt or punishment, but its סליחה *forgiveness* (v.4), the only occurrence of this term in the Psalter. The urgent crying for redemption, noticed in the Asaph Psalms, is absent here. As noted above, *my cry for mercy* (130:2) is probably a citation of the psalmist's past words, and not a present cry. Instead the mood is one of quiet waiting on God (vv.5-6). There is no sense that this forgiveness is incomplete. On the contrary, the psalmist stresses Yhwh's abundant redemption (v.7). To be consistent with this, יפדה should probably be viewed as present tense: *It is he who redeems Israel out of all his sins* (v.8).

The Asaphic theme of God's inactivity or slumber or failure to arise in Israel's defence does not figure in the Ascents. Instead Yhwh is the *guardian of Israel who neither slumbers nor sleeps* (121:4). The only use of קום is at 132:8, where Yhwh is besought to return to his dwelling in the Temple: *Arise, Yhwh, and go to your dwelling place, you and the ark of your power*. The similarity of the language to Num 10:36, where the context is bringing the ark back from war, suggests that the aftermath of victorious battle may be in mind in Ps 132. Elsewhere in the Ascents Yhwh is not exhorted to arise and deliver Israel; he has already delivered them and so thanksgiving is more appropriate (124:1-8; 126:1-3; 129:1-3). He is also perceived as continuing active among Israel, blessing and keeping the faithful.

¹⁶ *Forms of Prayer*, 257.

In contrast, divine blessing of the faithful does not figure in the Asaph Psalms. **ברך** and **אשרי** do not occur, nor is the idea much apparent. Faithful trust does not figure largely either. **יחל**, **ירא**, and **קנה** do not occur, and **בטח** describes only unfaithful Israelites who *did not trust* (78:22). Likewise **אמן** refers four times to the unbelieving (78:8,22,32,37). Neither do the faithful find **שלום**. At the term's one occurrence in the Asaph Psalms it is the wicked who enjoy it (73:3).

Thus the two different psalm-cycles have quite different theological flavours. The Asaph Psalms emphasize divine judgment on Israel and the nations arising from divine anger over human misdeeds and resulting in destruction and subjugation. This judgment is directed against Israel for their sins of disloyalty to Yhwh, and against the nations for their malice against Israel. Such a viewpoint would correspond well with the pre-deliverance ingatherings of the prophets' eschatological programmes, which seem to imply God's anger and judgment on Israel in bringing invasion against them. For in the theology of the prophetic programmes disaster comes upon Israel only by divine decree and in deserved recompense for unfaithfulness.¹⁷ God's wrath and anger with the nations for their maltreatment of Israel is also an avowed purpose of his gathering them to destruction at Jerusalem (Ezk 38:16-39:6; Joel 4[3]:2-8,19).

The Ascents, on the other hand, emphasize divine blessing, arising from reconciliation and forgiveness, and resulting in Israel's prosperity and pre-eminence. Such a viewpoint would correspond well with the prophets' depiction of the period of the post-deliverance ascent to Zion. They emphasize Israel's latterday purity of devotion and freedom from guilt (Ezk 39:26; Joel 4[3]:21; Zech 13:2-6) and Yhwh's presence making Jerusalem a place of supernatural splendour and international pre-eminence (Isa 2:2-4; Ezk 47:7-12; 22-23; 48:35; Joel 4[3]:17-21; Mic 4:1-3; Zech 14:8,9,16-21).

3. Divine Names.

A tendency can be discerned in the Bible to use the name *Yhwh* in contexts referring to God's mercy and steadfast love (Ex 33:19; 34:6), and the term *elohim* in contexts referring to his judgment or universal sovereignty (Ex 22:7,8 [8,9]). This was

¹⁷ At Ezk 39:23 the Israelites are said to have gone into exile for sin. At Zech 11:8-12:3 wrath and judgment come on Israel for rejecting Yhwh in his representative. At Joel 2:12-14, repentance may avert the coming disaster; at 4[3]:21 one of the blessings of the golden age will be the pardoning of Israel's unforgiven blood-guilt. For the prophets in general, national disaster was always of divine origin (Amos 3:6). The root of such theology may have been the ancient Song of Moses, which predicted exile as one of the results of disloyalty to Yhwh (Dt 32:21-25). Even Job, whose treatment of the issue of individual suffering is more theologically complex, does not deny that all human suffering is of divine origin.

recognized by rabbinic interpreters, for whom it was a fixed interpretational principle. As Hayman remarks,

The doctrine of the two divine attributes, Justice and Mercy, runs like a thread through all the rabbinic writings. It is the basis of a fundamental exegetical rule, namely that the divine name *Yahweh* denotes the attribute of Mercy, the name *Elohim*, the attribute of Justice.¹⁸

An early example is found in Sifre Deuteronomy, redacted not later than the early third century from tannaitic and pre-tannaitic sources.¹⁹ It states,

The Lord (Dt 3:24): Whenever Scripture says *the Lord*, it refers to his quality of mercy, as in the verse, *The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious* (Ex 34:6). Wherever it says *elohim*, it refers to his quality of justice, as in the verses, *The cause of both parties shall come before elohim* (Ex 22:8[9]), and *You shall not revile elohim (nor curse a ruler)* (Ex 22:27).²⁰

Numerous other passages in rabbinic literature contain a similar teaching, and in every case cite biblical passages to support it, apparently believing that the usage was of biblical origin.²¹

Excursus. A. Marmorstein has suggested that the rabbinic tradition is actually the reverse of the ancient practice, in which *elohim* represented mercy and *Yhwh* judgment.²² His evidence is a passage from Philo, to which he alludes as follows: 'Philo taught just the reverse; the term θεός = אֱלֹהִים means εὐεργέτης, the good, the God of love and benevolence; κύριος = אֲדֹנָי expresses God's Lordship, Rulership, Judgement.'²³ Although accepted by Wolfson,²⁴ this theory has otherwise found little support. Before Marmorstein, Frankel had already suggested that Philo's view was due to his ignorance of Hebrew. More recently, Urbach has plausibly suggested that, 'It is the Greek translation that caused Philo to reverse the Palestinian tradition. The rendering of *Y* by κύριος, . . . gave this word the meaning of lordship and dominion. Whilst in the original text the readers saw the Specific Name as it was spelt, . . . the Hellenistic reader was confronted by the word κύριος in its accepted sense.'²⁵ Another suggestion might be that Philo intended by κύριος, not the tetragrammaton, but Hebrew אֲדֹנָי, which would be consistent with 'Lordship, Rulership, Judgement', without derogating from the tradition that *Yhwh* signifies mercy. Segal, although considering both Philo and the rabbinic tradition to be responses to a 'two powers' heresy, suggests that the connection of *elohim* with judgment exists earlier than Marmorstein allows, among the first century *tannaim*, and possibly even in the book of

¹⁸ Hayman, "Rabbinic Judaism," 465.

¹⁹ Hammer, *Sifre*, 8.

²⁰ Sifre Dt. Piska 27.

²¹ See L. I. Rabinowitz, "God, Names of: In the Talmud," *EJ* 7:684; PdRK 149a (Supplement 6 in edn. of Braude and Kapstein) cites Ex 34:6 (*Yhwh*) and Ex 22:27 (*elohim*); MidTeh 47.2 cites Ex 34:6 (*Yhwh*); Zohar on Exodus 173b/174a; Cohen, *Psalms*, 156; Buber, *The Legend of the Baal Shem*, 213 (Glossary). See also Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 277.

²² Marmorstein, *Doctrine* I:43-53.

²³ Marmorstein, *Doctrine* I:43. Marmorstein neither cites the Philo passage nor gives any reference. This is a peculiar omission, as he generally gives detailed references. Urbach suggests the passages are *De Plantatione* 86; *De Abrahamo*, 124-5 [*Sages*, II:888, fn. to I:452].

²⁴ Wolfson, *Philo*, I:224-5.

²⁵ Urbach, *Sages*, I:453.

Jonah.²⁶ Segal notes that 'Marmorstein has been severely criticized and largely dismissed' for his view.²⁷ Certainly, his theory that the rabbinic interpretational principle was fundamentally wrong and at variance with all tradition must be regarded as unproven. Subsequent Jewish interpretation has recognized this in continuing to regard the rabbinic principle as valid for biblical interpretation.²⁸ Moreover, one salient point emerges from this: the association of different divine names with particular manifestations of God's character was established in Philo's time at least. This increases the likelihood of such ideas having existed at a time when they might have influenced the redaction of the Psalter, including the Elohist Psalter and the Psalms of Asaph.

In view of this, it is certainly interesting that in the Asaph Psalms, where God has in anger scattered his people, is estranged from them, and is judging Israel and the nations, *elohim* is the most frequent divine epithet.²⁹ It occurs 53 times to denote Israel's God, and three times more with reference to other deities (77:14[13]; 82:1,6). The singular form *el*, recalling the remote patriarch of the Canaanite pantheon, occurs 19 times, of which 16 or 17 refer to Israel's God.³⁰ *Elyon*, the term of divine transcendence *sans pareil*, occurs eight times. *Adonai* occurs six times (73:20,28; 77:3,8[2,7]; 78:65; 79:12). Another feature of the collection is the conglomerating of divine names to emphasize God's majesty and greatness.³¹ The first words of the collection are *El Elohim Yhwh* (50:1), 'a majestic heaping together of the Divine names, as if a herald were proclaiming the style and titles of a mighty king at the opening of a solemn assize.'³² Similarly, a sense of intensification of the psalmist's plea is achieved by the increasing divine titles in the refrain of Ps 80: *Elohim* (v.4[3]), *Elohim Tsebaoth* (v.8[7]) and *Yhwh Elohim Tsebaoth* (v.20[19], also 5[4]). Similar constructions are *Yhwh Elohim* (76:12[11]; 81:11[10]) and *Adonai Yhwh* (73:28). Although *Yhwh* is included in the conglomerated divine titles it is comparatively rare on its own, occurring only eight times.³³ Other divine titles include *God of Jacob* (76:7[6]; 81:2[1]), *Holy One of Israel* (78:41), and *Shepherd of Israel* (80:2[1]). In total twelve different divine titles or combinations of them occur in the Asaph Psalms.

²⁶ Segal, *Two Powers*, 45n., where he notes, 'In Jonah 3:8 and 4:3, God's change of mind in regard to the punishment of Nineveh is interpreted by means of God's interpretation of his name to Moses in Ex 34:6: "YHWH, YHWH is a God merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth."' See also 44-46, 173-80.

²⁷ Segal, *Two Powers*, 46.

²⁸ See Buber, *Baal Shem*, 213; Cohen, *Psalms*, 156.

²⁹ Of course, *elohim* is the most frequent divine epithet throughout Pss 42-83. But that does not detract from the fact of the phenomenon itself. Moreover, the Asaph Psalms may have been more originally *elohistic* than other psalms in the Elohist Psalter. They contain only one of the locutions thought to indicate later redaction: *God, your God* (50:7).

³⁰ *The cedars of God* (80:11[10]) is ambiguous; it can refer to numinous majesty or to Israel's God, or both.

³¹ This literary technique is used even in modern times to eulogise potentates. Compare the legend which in the 1980's adorned public pictures of the former President of Zimbabwe: 'His Excellency, the Right Honourable Reverend Comrade Canaan S. Banana.'

³² MacLaren, *Psalms*, II:117.

³³ Pss 74:18; 75:9[8]; 78:4,21; 79:5; 81:16[15]; 83:17,19 [16,18].

This suggests importunate prayer, like the prayer of a *mazkir*, using all God's names to stir him to action by remembrance of his attributes. The relative absence of *Yhwh* suggests that God's mercy is not strongly perceived.

It is likewise appropriate that *Yhwh*, denoting mercy and compassion, is predominant in the Ascents, occurring 53 times. The related term *Yah* also occurs twice (122:4; 130:3). *Elohim* occurs only twice, both times in apposition with *Yhwh* (122:9; 123:2). *Adonai* occurs three times (130:2,3,6). This small range of names suggests a simple and peaceful faith which does not need to exhaust the range of divine appellatives to attract the deity's attention. Similarly, if the name *Yhwh* indicates God's favour, mercy, intimacy, and nearness, then its nearly exclusive use in this collection suggests that it views him in such a light. Such a viewpoint is appropriate to the Ascents where God has restored fortunes (126), and where he protects (121; 125), blesses (128:1-6; 132:15-18; 133:3; 134:3), forgives (130), maintains covenant (132:11ff), and dwells on Zion (128:5; 132:13ff; 134:3).

Thus the Asaph Psalms predominantly use divine titles, particularly *elohim*, denoting God's judgment and remote transcendent power. The Ascents, on the other hand, use titles denoting his mercy and favour, particularly *Yhwh*. These different emphases are appropriate to the corresponding stages of the prophets' eschatological programme. God's judgment, as noted above, is a feature of the pre-deliverance gatherings of Israel and the nations. His mercy, particularly to Israel, but also to the nations gathering to worship in Zion, is a feature of the post-deliverance *malkut*.

Likewise, the terms used to describe Zion and the Temple highlight these different perceptions of God. For the Asaph Psalms Zion is the place from which *elohim* blazes forth in judgment (50:2-3; 76:3-10[2-9]; 80:2-4[1-3]). Their preferred terms for the Temple are *קדש* (74:3) and *מקדש* (73:17; 74:7; 78:69). Both terms, deriving from the root *קדש*, emphasize God's holiness, his numinous otherness, as does *קדש־שֵׁךְ הִיכָל* (79:1). The root *קדש* also appears elsewhere in the group (77:14[13]; 78:54). This is the holiness which, in the experience of the Asaph Psalms, smote Israel, and estranges them from God. In addition, *מוֹעֵד* occurs twice in Ps 74, once describing the temple (v.4) and once provincial religious meeting places (v.8).³⁴ But these places

³⁴ Gelston ["Psalm LXXIV.8," 82-87], and Tate following him [*Psalms 51-100*, 249-50], note several possible interpretations of this term. They conclude that it refers to 'non-sacrificial Yahwistic cult centers in Judah, and, as such, precursors of the synagogue' [Gelston, 85]. 1 Macc 3:46 may refer to such a place in its reference to a former 'place of prayer' at Mizpah. Of course, if the Asaph Psalms

are now destroyed and, although God will come to judge from Zion (50:2-4), present fellowship with him *in* Zion has ceased (74:3-9).³⁵ For the Ascents, Zion is the place from which Yhwh blesses (128:5; 132:13ff; 133:3; 134:3). They employ קִרְשׁ once, apparently to designate the Holy Place in the temple, where hands are raised in prayer before the incense altar (134:2). But generally the preferred term is בֵּית-יְהוָה suggesting Yhwh's present dwelling in the midst of the city. This term is, significantly, absent from the Asaph Psalms. In every mention of the Temple in the Ascents it is envisaged as standing and functioning as a centre of worship.

IV. Israel's Condition.

The condition of Israel is differently represented in each group. In the Asaph Psalms their condition is lamentable. The people have been slain (79:2-3) or scattered abroad in need of gathering (50:5). They are mocked by the heathen (74:18; 79:4; 80:7[6]), and feel alienated from God (74:9), believing their condition to be his judgment on their disobedience (79:8; 81:12-17 [11-16]) and themselves under his active displeasure (74:1; 77:7-11[6-10]; 79:5, 8, 9; 80:5[4]). City and temple have been destroyed (74:4-8; 79:1) and remain ruined (74:3; 80:13-14 [12-13]). This was done by foreigners (79:1,6,7) who remain scornful and hostile (74:18,22; 79:4; 80:13[14]). Israel request of God restoration and protection (74:22-23; 79:8). Instead, they are invaded again by hostile foreign nations, and cry out for forgiveness and deliverance (79:1,8; 83:5ff.[4ff.]). There is no reference to the present existence of the Davidic monarchy, although David is once mentioned briefly and the legitimacy of his royal house endorsed (78:70). Yhwh is asked to remember them (74:18-21; 80:15-19[14-18]), forgive them (79:8-9), deliver them (80:18[17]), and requite their destroyers (74:22-23; 79:6-12; 80:17[16]).

In the Songs of Ascents Israel is represented as prosperous after having come through sore trial. They apparently suffered a devastating attack by foreign adversaries intent on destroying the whole nation, but were rescued by Yhwh (124; 129:1-4). Now their captives have returned, and their fortunes have been restored (126:1), even if the

derive originally from a north Israelite context, the reference may equally well be to 'non-sacrificial Yahwistic cult centers' in Ephraim.

³⁵ Ps 73:17 might seem to contradict this. But the phrase מִקְדָּשֵׁי-אֵל is unusual, the only parallel elsewhere in the Bible being נֹרָא אֱלֹהִים מִמִּקְדָּשֶׁיךָ of Ps 68:36[35], where the precise meaning is again doubtful. Tate notes several possible meanings for the term, including 'the ruined temple site' [*Psalms 51-100*, 229]. It might equally designate provincial meeting-places, as in Ps 74:8. Or it may be that, in the canonical sequence of the Psalter, the destruction of the Temple is not envisaged until Ps 74. For Ps 68:25[24]ff. represent it as standing.

restoration is not yet complete (126:4; 127:1).³⁶ All the tribes of Israel are reunited in their land (133:1), and so great is their change of fortunes that the nations speak of Yhwh's great deeds on their behalf (126:2). Jerusalem is a city built up and very much inhabited, where pilgrims of Israel's tribes come and go (122:1-4). The Temple is standing and the appointed feasts have been restored (122:4,9; 134:1-2). Yhwh protects the city (125:2). The people feel forgiven and reconciled to Yhwh, and dwell in *shalom* under his blessing. Kingship has been restored to the house of David; the Lord's *mashiah* exercises justice there (122:5; 132:10-17). It appears monarchic stability and state security exist, for their continuance, rather than their initiation, is requested, and the tone of the requests, unlike the agonized cries of the Asaph Psalms, is quiet and confident (132:10; 122:6; 127:1). An oracle promises the *mashiah* glorious dominion (132:17-18).

Such different presentations of Israel's condition are appropriate to the different stages of the eschatological programme. When Israel initially return from exile to the land their condition is clearly one of adversity. The people, land, city, and temple have been desolated and must be rebuilt (Ezk 38:12; Zech 14:11; Joel 4[3]:2-5,20). They are surrounded by hostile nations, as the vast alliance soon to gather against them testifies (Ezk 38:4-16; Zech 9:13-16; 12:3; 14:2; Joel 4[3]:2,11-14). And, in the Zecharian programme at least, the actual period of the attack is one of acute distress (Zech 14:1-2). Thus the prophetic depiction of Israel in the latterday period from their initial ingathering to the nations' attack corresponds with their condition as represented in the Asaph Psalms.

Similarly the prophetic depiction of Israel's latterday *malkut* after the divine deliverance corresponds with their situation as represented in the Ascents. Israel will be prosperous and exalted (Zech 14:14ff; Ezk 38:26ff; Joel 4[3]:17-21). The tribes will be reunited (Ezk 37:15ff). They would remember the attack of the nations, but their own ultimate victory and vindication would free the memories of rancour. The nations will confess Yhwh's greatness and his love for Israel (Ezk 39:21-24). The Davidic king will rule from Zion (Ezk 34:23ff; 37:24ff; 44:3; 46:16-18; Jer 3:17; 23:3-6; Mic 4:8-5:1[2]; Zech 9:9-10). Yhwh will dwell there (Ezk 48:35; Joel 4[3]:21; Zech 14:16-21). The cult and appointed feasts will be re-established, and Israel will worship Yhwh, together with the nations (Ezk 45:13-46:24; Zech 14:16-21).

³⁶ 125:3 also indicates incomplete redemption if *יָנוּחַ* is taken as a future. But if it is taken as an English present tense denoting a general principle, *the sceptre of the wicked does not rest*, it need not.

V. Prominent Figures.

A concern with Joseph is discernable in the Asaph Psalms.³⁷ The name occurs four times (77:16[15]; 78:67; 80:2[1]; 81:6[5]). It also occurs in deutero-Asaphic Ps 105:17, which features a short history of Joseph. It does not appear elsewhere in the Psalter. Ephraim, the foremost of the two Joseph tribes, is mentioned at Asaph Pss 78:9,67 and 80:3[2]. Elsewhere in the Psalter the name occurs only in one duplicate passage (60:9[7]=108:9[8]). Ps 80:3[2] also mentions the other tribes associated with the Ephraim camp of the desert wanderings, Manasseh, and Joseph's full brother Benjamin (Num 2:18-24). The concern with Joseph may also be reflected in an interest in Jacob, a name which some biblical writers use to indicate the northern tribes in distinction to Judah.³⁸ It occurs nine times in the collection (75:9; 76:6; 77:16[15]; 78:5,21,71; 79:7; 81:1,4), slightly less than a third of the 30 references to Jacob in Psalms.

By contrast, Joseph does not figure in the Songs of Ascents, and Jacob occurs only twice, in the epithet *Mighty One of Jacob* (132:2,5). The dominant figure of the Ascents is David, whose name occurs eight times (122:1,5; 124:1; 131:1; 132:1,10,11,17).³⁹ Four lyrics are inscribed or ascribed to him and one to his son Solomon (127:1). The emphasis is on the house of David as a continuing institution, particularly in Pss 122 and 132, which depict it in full possession of regal authority. There is no request for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy, as at Ps 89:36-52[35-51]. This would be expected in a collection so interested in David if the dynasty were in eclipse. In contrast the Asaph Psalms mention David only twice in one brief reference to the past inauguration of his kingdom (78:70-72).

This corresponds with the motifs of the eschatological programme. We noted that the Josephites were often prominent in the first stage of the ingathering (Ezk 37:19-22;

³⁷ Many commentators have noted this feature of the collection, including King, *Psalms*, II:iv-v; Delitzsch, *Psalms*, II:142; MacLaren, *Psalms*, II:116; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 430; Peters, *Psalms as Liturgies*, 295; Nasuti, *Psalms of Asaph*, 80. But no consensus exists as to why this should be so. Delitzsch [*Psalms*, II:438] asks, 'Was Asaph, the founder of this circle of songs, of a Levite city in the territory of Ephraim or Manasseh?'

³⁸ *Jacob* can denote the northern kingdom alone (Isa 17:3-4; Amos 7:2,5, cf. v.9; Mic 3:1), or even in distinction to Judah (Mic 1:5). Of course, like Israel, it can also indicate the twelve tribes (Jos 7:16). The source of the identification is probably the same as that of the identification of the allonym *Israel* with the northern tribes in distinction to Judah (e.g. Jer 30:3; 31:27; Hos 1:4; Amos 1:1; *et passim*).

³⁹ The fact that several of these references occur in headings does not detract from their significance. There existed a connection between David and the Songs of Ascents in the mind of the Psalter's redactor, even if nowhere else.

Zech 9:11; 10:6-12) and that later interpreters held that these tribes would initiate the ingathering and possess Jerusalem before the eschatological conflict.⁴⁰

When the Holy One, blessed be he, in the future will gather Israel from the four corners of the world, the first whom he will gather will be the half-tribe of Manasseh, as it is said, *Gilead is mine, and Manasseh is mine* (Ps 60:9[7]). After that, Ephraim, as it is said, *Ephraim is the defence of my head* (Ps 60:9[7]). After that, Judah, as it is said, *Judah is my sceptre* (Ps 60:9[7]).⁴¹

By whose hand will the Kingdom of Edom fall? By the hand of the War Messiah, who will be descended from Joseph. R. Phinehas said in the name of R. Shmuel b. Nahman: We have a tradition that Esau will fall only by the hand of Rachel's descendants, as it is said, *Surely the young of the flock shall drag them away* (Jer 49:20). Why does he call them 'the young of the flock?' Because they are the youngest of the tribes.⁴²

Thus the Asaph Psalms' interest in Joseph would support the theory that they represent the initial ingathering of Israel.

We noted also that in the eschatological programme of the prophets the third stage of the ingathering was to be identified with a latterday Davidic *malkut* (Ezk 44:3; 46:16-18; Jer 3:17; 23:3-6; Mic 4:8-5:1[2]; Zech 9:9-10). This would correspond with the Ascents' interest in David and with the hypothesis that they represent the ascent to worship at the latterday Feast of Sukkoth in the Davidic *malkut*. Such a balance in the Psalter between an initial ingathering of Josephites and a post-conflict Davidic *malkut* would even explain why the Asaph Psalms recount Yhwh's rejection of Joseph's leadership in favour of Judah's (78:67-72). For the Psalter's redactor followed the same eschatological programmes which give Joseph prominence in the initial ingathering, yet regard the kingship as Judah's.

VI. Imagery.

Shepherd imagery figures prominently in the Psalms of Asaph, occurring eight times in six psalms. In Ps 74 Israel are *the sheep of your pasture* (v.1). In Ps 77 God led his people like a *flock* (v.21[20]). In Ps 78 he led them from Egypt like sheep and through the wilderness like a flock, and then committed them to the shepherd care of David

⁴⁰ In addition to the passages cited, see also AgM 20; Otot 8:6 (cited with a discussion of their dating in App. I); BB 123b; PRE 19b; 22a; GenR 73:7; 75:5-6; 97 (NV in Soncino edn.); 99:2; Saadya, *Kitab 'al Amanat*, VIII.v (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 301-4). The same thing is also implied by those texts which understand Messiah ben Joseph to be the initiator of the latterday ingathering, for a gathering led by an Ephraimite messiah would be regarded as an Ephraimite movement. It is implied also in those texts which regard Messiah ben Joseph as a descendant of Joshua (Tg. Ps-Jon. to Ex 40:11; Saadya, *Kitab al 'Amanat*, VIII.v [Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 301-4]). For a Joshuanic antitype would fulfil the function of his ancestor in bringing the people out of exile into the land.

⁴¹ PRE 19b.

⁴² GenR. 99.2.

(vv.52,70-72). In Ps 79:13 there reoccurs the phrase *the sheep of your pasture*, also found at 74:1, and a reference to Israel as a *pasture*.⁴³ At Ps 80:2[1] the *Shepherd of Israel* leads Joseph like a *flock*. At Ps 83:13[12] Israel is **נֶאֱרָה אֱלֹהִים** *the pastures of God*. In deutero-Asaph Ps 95:7 Israel are the people of God's pasture and the flock of his hand. There are therefore a number of explicit examples of shepherd imagery in eight Asaph and one deutero-Asaph psalms. Elsewhere in the Psalter it occurs explicitly at only three places (23:1-4; 100:3; 119:176), and implicitly at two (28:9; 44:12[11]). Further shepherd imagery is discernable in the Asaphite predilection for **נָדַח**, a verb usually denoting the *leading* of beasts. Three of the four occurrences of this verb in the Psalter are in the Asaph Psalms (78:26,52; 80:2[1]), the subject being Yhwh in every case.

In addition, the Asaph Psalms' concern with shepherd imagery may be reflected in their interest in Jacob. Of the 30 references to Jacob in the Psalter, nine are found in the Asaph group, which forms only eight per cent of the Psalter. Such a proportion indicates that Jacob was a significant figure in the Asaphite tradition. Jacob was the shepherd-patriarch *par excellence*. He was the first biblical character to apply the Shepherd metaphor to God (Gen 48:15; 49:24). He, more than any other biblical character, is described as overseeing in detail the manifold activities of sheep (Gen 29:1-10; 30:25-43). And his favourite wife, and the mother of the Josephite tribes, was **רָחֵל**, *ewe*, the shepherdess (Gen 29:9).

Some commentators have noted that there is a close connection between shepherd and exodus imagery.⁴⁴ This connection is evident in the Asaph Psalms, six of which appear to contain the exodus motif. Ps 74:2 suggests the redemption from Egypt; the words **קִנִּית** and **גְּאֻלָּת** being taken directly from the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:16, 13), where they are used in a similar context. The same event is evoked in 74:13: *You it was who split the sea by your power*. Likewise v.14 evokes the crushing of Pharaoh the *Leviathan*, and v.15 the water from the rock and the Jordan crossing. The phrase at Ps 76:7[6], *Cast down are rider and horse*, appears to connote the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:1). Ps 77:15-21[14-20] refers to God displaying his power among the peoples when he redeemed his people, when the waters writhed and his path led through the

⁴³ Given the pastoral emphasis of the Asaph Psalms, **נֶדַח** is best translated *pasture*. Many translations seem to miss this, rendering it *dwelling place* (AV), *habitation* (RSV), *homesteads* (NEB), and *homeland* (NIV). This is in spite of the fact that most OT occurrences of **נֶדַח** require in their context the translation *pasture* or *fold* (Job 5:24; Isa 65:10; Jer 23:3; 33:12; 49:20; 50:19; Ezk 25:5), and that these English versions translate it so in most of these cases.

⁴⁴ Freedman, "The Twenty-third Psalm," 139-66; Milne, "Psalm 23: Echoes of the Exodus," 237-47.

sea. Ps 78:12-55 is an extended description of the Exodus, the wilderness wanderings, and the entry into Canaan. Ps 80:9[8] refers to God bringing a vine *out of Egypt*. Ps 81 refers to the judgments on Egypt, to Israel's redemption from Egypt, and to the testing at Meribah (vv.6-11[5-10]). Exodus language also occurs in deutero-Asaphic Pss 105:23-45 and 106:7-33. Elsewhere in the Psalter the Exodus is mentioned only three times (114:1-3; 135:8-12; 136:10:22).

Finally, two later psalms in the Asaph group contain imagery depicting the violent aspects of harvest, threshing and trampling. Israel is depicted as Yhwh's vine, ravaged, burned with fire, and plucked by passers-by (80:9). The last psalm in the group, depicting Zion surrounded by a coalition of hostile nations, wishes Israel's enemies to be like *chaff before the wind* (83:14[13]). Ps 81 bears the viticultural heading על-הגיתית, *concerning the winepresses*, which, as we noted earlier, seems to be connected with the idea of the crushing of Israel's eschatological foes. The same heading also occurs in Ps 84. Although this is not an Asaph Psalm, it follows an Asaph Psalm about universal military judgment, as the two other על-הגיתית headings (8:1; 80:1) also follow psalms about judgment, Ps 7:8-9[7-8] calling for the judgment of the nations, and Ps 80 describing Israel's punishment and calling for retribution (v.17[16]).⁴⁵ It seems therefore not unreasonable to regard the harvest imagery of Ps 84:1 as part of the context of Ps 83.⁴⁶

The Songs of Ascents, in contrast, display no shepherd imagery, nor do they mention Exodus or Egypt. They do feature harvest imagery, but the emphasis is wholly upon the bountiful harvest-home, and not the period of threshing and trampling which precedes it. Ps 126:5-6 tells how the labour of sowing results in the joy of reaping. Ps 129:5-8 pronounces an un blessing to the effect that the haters of Zion be like withered corn not worth the reaping. Presumably, the implication is that Zion's friends will be like a good harvest. These two psalms, referring to agricultural harvest, form an inclusio around Pss 127 and 128, which refer to domestic abundance, human fertility,

⁴⁵ There is, as noted earlier in this chapter ('Theological Characteristics'), some ambiguity about whether Israel or their enemies are referred to here. We concluded that the latter was more likely. However, even without this verse, the cry, *Awaken your might* (v.3[2]) and the repeated calls for deliverance (vv. 3, 4, 8, 20 [2, 3, 7, 19]), suggest that the psalmist hopes for Israel's vindication and, hence, for judgment of their oppressors.

⁴⁶ Indeed if Thirtle's theory, discussed in our introduction, is correct, that some psalm-headings containing displaced subscripts, then the three occurrences of על-הגיתית (Pss 8:1; 81:1; 84:1) may be displaced for Pss 7, 80 and 83. There is an evident harmony between the ominous phrase *For the winepresses* and the explicit theme of judgment of the nations in these three psalms. In contrast, Pss 8, 81, and 84 appear to have little in common.

and the fruit of the womb. Ps 127:2-5 states that food and prosperity come to Yhwh's beloved, and that children are his blessing for the upbuilding of home and state. Ps 128:2-3 is gravid with rich harvest and fertility imagery: *you will eat what you have laboured for, your wife will be like a fruitful vine in the thighs of your house, your children like olive shoots around your table*. The divine oracle of Ps 132 pronounces abundant provisions (צִידָה) and bread to the inhabitants of Zion (v.15). Ps 133:2 depicts abundance of good olive-oil. Pilgrimage imagery is also prominent in the Ascents. Pss 120-123 represent a pilgrimage to Zion.⁴⁷ Ps 120 depicts the pilgrim leaving his pagan surroundings to journey to Zion. Ps 121 pronounces protection on the traveller journeying through the hills to Jerusalem, the step parallelism embodying his upward trudge. Ps 122 represents him standing in the gate, entering the city, and admiring it. In Ps 123, he lifts up his eyes in prayer. The Psalms of Asaph, on the other hand, appear to contain neither harvest-home nor pilgrimage imagery.

These two distinct bodies of imagery correspond to the different stages of the eschatological programme which we associated with each psalm-cycle. The predominant imagery used of the gathering of scattered Israel in the prophetic writings is that of the *divine shepherd and his flock*. It occurs in the context of predictions of Israel's gathering at Isa 40:11; Jer 3:14-15; 23:3,4; 31:10,23; 50:4-7,17,19; Ezk 34:11-14; Mic 2:12; Zech 10:2,3,8,9. It is also implied at Mic 4:6-7 and Zeph 3:19, where the feminine particle הַצֹּלֵעָ *the lame* probably indicates flocks, particularly given the reference to *the flock* in Mic 4:8. Some commentators have observed that there is a close connection between shepherd and exodus imagery, in that Yhwh is the shepherd who leads his flock through the desert and into the green pastures of the promised land. It is consistent with this that exodus language and imagery are also associated with the latterday gathering of Israel, thus linking the past and future exodus figuratively together: Isa 51:10-11; Jer 16:14-15; 23:7-8; Ezk 20:34-38; Zech 10:10-11. Apart from Shepherd-Exodus imagery, no other image complex appears to be used consistently in connection with the ingathering of Israel.

The predominant imagery used of the gathering of the nations against Jerusalem is that of threshing, sifting, winnowing, and trampling. This might be described as *the threshing of the nations*. This imagery is employed several times in the eschatological programmes considered above. Joel 4[3]:12-13 presents the gathering and judgment

⁴⁷ Such a narrative structure has been noted by a number of commentators. See Cox, *Pilgrim Psalms*, 308-9; Neale and Littledale, 115; Manatti, "Les psaumes graduels," 87. The issue of narrative structure in the Asaph and Ascents collections is considered more fully below.

of the nations in terms of cutting corn and trampling grapes. Mic 4:12-13 represents the nations gathered to the *threshing-floor*, an ancient designation and function of the Temple hill (2 Sam 23:18ff; 2 Chr 3:1). Isa 27:12-13 depicts Yhwh threshing the entire fertile crescent at the time of Israel's gathering. Jer 12:9-12 describes the nations' attack and says Judah is receiving the due bad harvest for their sins (v.13). Elsewhere in the Bible, even where an eschatological programme is less evident, the destruction of the nations in ultimate or future war is presented in threshing imagery. Isa 63:1-6 and Jer 25:30 represent the conflict as Yhwh's treading the winepress. Hab 3:12 depicts the conflict as Yhwh's threshing the nations. Zeph 1:14-2:1 describes the day of the war as overflowing like *chaff* (2:1). More generally, similar imagery elsewhere describes the destruction of the wicked in general, including unfaithful Israel, often in eschatological contexts (Isa 17:13; 29:5-8; 30:28; Jer 9:22; 25:30-31; 51:33; Am 8:2; 9:9; Mic 4:13; Pss 1:4; 35:5; Job 21:18; Lam 1:15; Dan 2:35). The imagery fits the event. Threshing and trampling suggest violence. Pressing grapes depicts bloodshed. Separation of grain from chaff and juice from grapeskin indicates separation of the good and desirable from the bad and worthless. This widespread and probably ancient connection in Hebrew thought between harvest and future judgment, may explain why the verb **אסף**, which had harvest overtones from early times (Ex 34:22), later ousted **קבץ** as the key verb for the pre-deliverance gatherings of the eschatological programme.

The predominant imagery used for the gathering to worship on Zion in the prophetic eschatological programme is that of garnering harvest after the threshing of the grain, *the harvest of the earth*. Widyapranawa notes, 'In both the Old and New Testament, apocalyptic employs the picture of "harvest home" for the last judgment.'⁴⁸ Zech 9:17 speaks of post-conflict Israel thriving on an abundant harvest of grain and new wine. Zech 14:16-19 depicts all nations making pilgrimage to celebrate the Feast of Sukkoth, the harvest festival (Ex 34:22), at Jerusalem. Joel 4:18 describes the abundant agricultural fertility of earth in the post-conflict period. Isa 27:12 describes how, after the threshing of the nations, the Israelites will be gathered like grain. Isa 66:20 depicts the nations bearing the Israelites to Jerusalem, *as the Israelites bring their grain offerings to the house of Yhwh in pure vessels*. Thus there would appear to be a close correspondence between the imagery of the ingathering stages of the eschatological programme and of the psalm-cycles, as follows.

⁴⁸ Widyapranawa, *Isaiah 1-39*, 163.

<i>Psalms of Asaph (Pss 50, 73-83).</i>		<i>Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134).</i>
Ingathering of Israel.	Ingathering of hostile nations.	Ingathering to worship.
Imagery: shepherd-exodus.	Imagery: threshing and trampling.	Imagery: harvest-home.

VII. Literary Characteristics.

The literary characteristics of the two collections express well the ethos of each. The literary devices of the Asaph Psalms produce a sense of weak internal cohesion, or 'centrifugality', which in turn conveys feelings of alienation, decentralization, and *angst*. The literary devices of the Songs of Ascents produce a high degree of internal cohesion, or 'centripetality', which conveys a feeling of harmony, wholeness, and *shalom*.⁴⁹

1. Time and History.

The attitude to time and history in the two psalms groups produces different levels of cohesion. Historical review is almost an obsession in the Asaph and deuterio-Asaph Psalms (74:2-10; 76:3-9; 77:6-21[5-20]; 78:4-72; 79:1-4; 80:9-17[8-16]; 81:6-12[5-11]; 83:10-13[9-12]; 96:3; 105:1-2,5,8-45; 106:6-46).⁵⁰ They also look repeatedly to the future, praying for God's coming in judgment and deliverance, and for the inauguration of his *malkut* (50:2-6; 73:18-20; 74:10-11,22-23; 75:8-11[7-10]; 79:5-13; 80:2-20[1-19]; 82:8; 83:19[18]; 96:10-13; 106:47).⁵¹ This intent gazing at past and future gives the Asaph Psalms a high degree of non-cohesion, which conveys a sense of the psalmist's discontent, restlessness, and alienation from his present situation.

The Ascents are much more at home in the present tense. Historical reviews are not absent (123:3-4; 124:1-5; 126:1-3; 129:1-4; 132:1-7), but are fewer and briefer, and have a different quality. While those of the Asaph group call attention to the pitiful state of Israel, and request deliverance on the basis of God's past covenant and deeds, those of the Ascents give thanks for past deliverance, or, in Ps 132, recall the covenant with David to request, not deliverance from adversity, but continuance of present blessings. This greater emphasis on the present moment, rather than the past and future, gives the Ascents a high degree of cohesion, which conveys a sense of the psalmist's being content and at peace in his present situation.

⁴⁹ The terms 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' in relation to poetic cohesion derive from E. Stankiewicz, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Structures in Poetry."

⁵⁰ Illman notes the use of historical rehearsal in several Asaph Psalms [*Thema und Tradition*, 19-29, 42].

⁵¹ The imperfect tenses in Pss 73 and 75, rendered as present tense in most English Bibles, may, of course, be rendered as futures.

2. Proper names.

Another literary characteristic that produces different levels of cohesion is the use of proper names. They proliferate in the Asaph Psalms. Omitting names which also feature in the Ascents, Israel, Jerusalem, Zion, David, Jacob, and Aaron, the following thirty-seven proper names occur in the Asaph Psalms: Asaph, Leviathan, Judah, Tanninim, Salem, Jeduthun, Joseph/Jehoseph, Moses, Ephraim, Egypt, Zoan, Ham, Shiloh, Benjamin, Manasseh, the River (Euphrates), Meribah, Edom, Ishmaelites, Moab, Hagrites, Gebal, Ammon, Amalek, Philistia, Tyre, Assyria, Lot, Midian, Sisera, Jabin, Kishon, Endor, Oreb, Zeeb, Zebah, and Zalmunna. One might possibly add to this Hot Anger, Wrath, Indignation, and Hostility, personified as *a band of evil mal'akhim* at Ps 78:49. In addition, there are twelve names for God, as noted above. And if deutero-Asaph Pss 105 and 106 are taken into account, then there must be added Abraham, Isaac, Canaan, Yam Suph, Dathan, Abiram, Baal of Peor, and Phinehas. This kaleidoscope of proper names is largely a natural by-product of the historical reviews, which necessarily name places and people. But it produces its own literary effect, a complex cast of characters and scenery, which produces a highly non-cohesive texture. In addition, the fact that over twenty of these names and places are non-Israelite conveys well the plight of Israel surrounded by the nations. The greater profusion of names in Ps 83 has a closural function in regard to the entire Asaph cycle. It highlights the encyclopaedic scale of the judgment of the nations, and serves as a *tutti* finale to the entire collection.

The Ascents are moderate in their use of proper names. Apart from those common to both groups, they feature only Meshech, Kedar, Negeb, Solomon, Ephratah, and Hermon. They are, of course, half the length of the Asaph Psalms. But even double this number of names gives only twelve, as opposed to thirty-seven. In contrast to the names in the Asaph Psalms, most of which are connected with foreign nations, the Ascents mention only two foreign peoples in the first psalm, and the pilgrim immediately departs from their midst.⁵²

3. Repetition.

Another literary device that gives different levels of cohesion to the two psalm-groups is repetition. It is widely employed throughout the Ascents. There are the formulaic phrases, mentioned above, which appear to have been cultic responses. Some of these

⁵² See the discussion below on 'Narrative Sequence.'

occur twice and others three times in the collection.⁵³ There are the literary techniques of step repetition (120:5-7; 121:1-2, 3-5, 7-8; 122:2-3, 4a-b, 5a-b; 123:2-4; 124:4-5, 7a-b; 126:2b-3; 133:2a-b) and verbatim repetition (124:1-2; 126:2b-3; 127:1-2; 129:1-2; 130:6; 131:2b). Grossberg comments on the use of repetition in biblical poetry: 'Repetition in its various forms is the most frequent cohesive device. The reiterated unit is recalled and *ipso facto* related.'⁵⁴ Thus the Ascents' repetitions produce strong inner cohesion. This conveys feelings of familiarity, simplicity, and *shalom*. The Asaph Psalms, on the other hand, do not feature repetition. They contain no repeated formulaic phrases, no step repetition, no verbatim repetition. This produces weak cohesion, and the occurrence of what is always new and unrecognized produces feelings of alienation, unfamiliarity, complexity, and restlessness.

Thus the Asaph Psalms regularly employ poetic techniques conveying anxiousness and distress, while the Songs of Ascents employ those conveying peace and contentment. These different poetic moods correspond well with the different stages of the prophets' eschatological programme. The troubled and unhappy mood of the Asaph Psalms would well represent the distressed condition of Israel gathering from exile in a time of hostility which culminates in massive foreign invasion. The peaceful and happy mood of the Songs of Ascents, on the other hand, would well represent Israel's condition in the latterday *malkut*.

IX. Summary.

The following contrasts and comparisons have been noted between the Psalms of Asaph and the Songs of Ascents.

⁵³ *Who made the heavens and the earth* (121:2; 124:8; 134:3); *From now until eternity* (121:8; 125:2; 131:3); *Peace on Israel* (125:5; 128:6); *Yhwh bless you from Zion* (128:5; 134:3); *Hope, Israel, in Yhwh* (130:7; 131:3).

⁵⁴ D. Grossberg, *Centripetal and Centrifugal Structures in Biblical Poetry*, 9.

Chapter VI: The Eschatological Programme and the Psalter.

<i>The Psalms of Asaph.</i>	<i>The Songs of Ascents.</i>
<i>Heading & Tradition:</i> אֲסָפִי. Asaphite guild; mazkir prophet musicians; holy war.	<i>Heading & Tradition:</i> עֲלֵה. Pilgrim ascent and worship at the Feast of Tabernacles.
<i>Event-sequence:</i> From divine command to ingather Israel (50:5) to overwhelming foreign invasion (83).	<i>Event-sequence:</i> From pilgrimage to worship at Sukkoth on Zion (120) to joyful descent from Zion in fullness of blessing (134). Takes place in aftermath of divine deliverance.
<i>View of God:</i> Divine judgment of the wicked, both Israel and nations. Divine wrath on human sin, resulting in destruction. Divine title: <i>elohim</i> - expresses <i>middah</i> of judgment.	<i>View of God:</i> Divine blessing of the faithful. Divine mercy and forgiveness, resulting in <i>shalom</i> . Divine title: <i>Yhwh</i> - expresses <i>middah</i> of mercy.
<i>Israel's condition:</i> Distress and trouble. Jerusalem ruined; people scattered; alienated from <i>elohim</i> ; awareness of national guilt; requesting national restoration and judgment on the nations.	<i>Israel's condition:</i> Prosperity, <i>shalom</i> . Saved from foreign invasion. Jerusalem and Temple built, inhabited, functioning as cult centre; people gathering; reconciled to <i>Yhwh</i> ; forgiven; <i>bet-David</i> restored.
<i>Prominent figure:</i> Joseph.	<i>Prominent figure:</i> David.
<i>Imagery:</i> Shepherd-Exodus. Threshing imagery in Pss 80 & 83 appropriate to the coming judgment.	<i>Imagery:</i> Harvest-fertility and pilgrimage. This is appropriate to the harvest festival Sukkot.
<i>Other:</i> Temporal complexity, numerous proper names, and little repetition give non-cohesive texture leading to a sense of discontent and <i>angst</i> .	<i>Other:</i> Temporal simplicity, few proper names, and much repetition give a cohesive texture leading to a sense of contentment and <i>shalom</i> .

The correspondences between the Psalms of Asaph and the initial ingatherings of the prophetic programme may be summarized as follows.

<i>The Psalms of Asaph.</i>	<i>The Pre-Deliverance Ingatherings.</i>
<i>Heading & Tradition:</i> אֲסָפִי. Asaphite guild; mazkir prophet musicians; holy war.	(i) Predominant verb: אֲסָפִי. (ii) Holy war.
<i>Event-sequence:</i> From divine command to ingather Israel (50:5) to overwhelming foreign invasion (83).	Begins with gathering of Israel which is succeeded by a gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem.
<i>View of God:</i> Divine judgment of the wicked, both Israel and nations. Divine wrath on human sin, resulting in destruction. Divine title: <i>elohim</i> - expresses <i>middah</i> of judgment.	The purpose of the pre-deliverance ingatherings is to judge Israel and the nations.
<i>Israel's condition:</i> Distress and trouble. Jerusalem ruined; people scattered; alienated from <i>elohim</i> ; awareness of national guilt; requesting national restoration and judgment on the nations.	Israel's condition when gathered to a ruined city in a time of continuing national threat would necessarily be one of distress and trouble, in which they request restoration.
<i>Prominent figures:</i> Joseph.	Josephites are first to be gathered in Zech 9-10.
<i>Imagery:</i> Shepherd-Exodus. Threshing imagery in Pss 80 & 83 appropriate to the coming judgment.	Prophetic texts employ Shepherd-Exodus imagery for the gathering of Israel and imagery of threshing and trampling for the judgment of the nations.
<i>Other:</i> Temporal complexity, numerous proper names, and little repetition give non-cohesive texture leading to a sense of discontent and <i>angst</i> .	Discontent and <i>angst</i> are appropriate to Israel's distressed and threatened situation.

The correspondences between the Songs of Ascents and the final ingathering of the prophetic programme may be summarized as follows:

Chapter VI: The Eschatological Programme and the Psalter.

<i>The Songs of Ascents.</i>	<i>The Post-Deliverance Ascent to Zion.</i>
<i>Heading & Tradition:</i> עֲלֹה. Pilgrim ascent and worship at the Feast of Sukkoth.	(i) Predominant verbs: עֲלֹה. (ii) The latterday Feast of Sukkoth (Zech 14).
<i>Event-sequence:</i> From pilgrimage to worship at Sukkoth on Zion (120) to joyful descent from Zion in fullness of blessing (134). Takes place in aftermath of divine deliverance.	The post-deliverance period will be characterised by celebration of Sukkoth on Zion in the aftermath of the deliverance (Zech 14).
<i>View of God:</i> Divine blessing of the faithful. Divine mercy and forgiveness, resulting in <i>shalom</i> . Divine title: <i>Yhwh</i> - expresses <i>middah</i> of mercy.	In the post-deliverance <i>mal'kut</i> Yhwh will dwell in Zion and there confer blessing and fertility (Zech 14:16-19).
<i>Israel's condition:</i> Prosperity, <i>shalom</i> . Saved from foreign invasion. Jerusalem and Temple built, inhabited, functioning as cult centre; people gathering; reconciled to Yhwh; forgiven; <i>bet-David</i> restored.	Yhwh saves Israel from a foreign invasion, raises them to international pre-eminence, and restores <i>bet-David</i> . Temple and city are rebuilt and people gather to appointed feasts.
<i>Prominent figure:</i> David.	The kingdom is restored to <i>bet-David</i> .
<i>Imagery:</i> Harvest-fertility and pilgrimage. This is appropriate to the harvest festival Sukkot.	Contentment and <i>shalom</i> appropriate to the happy age following the deliverance. Prophetic texts employ Harvest-fertility imagery for the latterday <i>mal'kut</i> . Zech 14 represents it as a pilgrimage to Sukkoth.
<i>Other:</i> Temporal simplicity, few proper names, and much repetition give a cohesive texture leading to a sense of contentment and <i>shalom</i> .	Contentment and <i>shalom</i> are appropriate to Israel's prosperous and happy situation in the post-deliverance <i>mal'kut</i> of <i>bet-David</i> .

The collective force of the above suggests a distinct overall correspondence between the events and themes of the Psalms of Asaph and the pre-deliverance ingatherings of the prophetic programmes, and between the Songs of Ascents and the post-conflict ingathering. These two psalm-groups occur, of course, in the correct sequence to reflect the order of events in the eschatological programmes.

It therefore appears that the arrangement of these psalms in the Psalter produces a document which bears some similarity to the eschatological programmes of the prophets. This confirms our working hypothesis that the final form of the Psalter has been shaped, presumably by its redactor(s), as an eschatologico-predictive text. This may have been done by taking two existing psalms collections, and possibly making changes to both text and rubrics. To what extent these collections underwent reinterpretation by being set in this new context depends on their original function. If the Asaph Psalms were originally extracts from a levitical songbook of cultic remembrancing rites, then their use in the Psalter may not be too far from their original function. The same would be so if the Songs of Ascents were originally lyrics for Temple worship at Sukkoth. But whatever their original function, their themes were probably sufficiently close to the redactor's eschatological themes as to make the significance of his document comprehensible to his contemporaries.

VII. A Time of Trouble for Israel.¹

The preceding chapters explained the central argument of this thesis, that a parallel is discernable between the Asaph and Ascents psalm-cycles and the stages of ingathering in the eschatological programme of the prophets, and that this tends to confirm our working hypothesis that the Psalter itself is shaped so as to depict an eschatological programme. The remaining chapters serve to corroborate this hypothesis further. First of all, in the present chapter, we shall investigate Zech 11:4-13:9 and suggest that it adds two further motifs to the basic ingathering programme: a stricken messiah and an eschatological exile. We shall then seek to identify the full eschatological programme of Zech 9-14, and confirm it by investigation of subsequent eschatological writings. Then, in the following chapters, we shall suggest that the motifs of the stricken messiah and the eschatological exile may also be discerned in the Psalter. In chapter VIII, we shall suggest that the Psalter's royal psalms may be read as depicting the messianic motifs of the eschatological programme. In chapter IX we shall suggest that Book IV of the Psalms may be taken as representing the eschatological exile.

I. The Motifs of Zech 11:4-13:9

In our earlier investigation in chapter V of the eschatological programme in Zech 9-14, we omitted discussion of Zech 11:4-13:9, noting that the entire passage, framed as it is by the description of a stricken shepherd (11:4-17; 13:7-9), represents an addition to the programmes of Ezekiel and Joel, an addition consisting of a time of trouble which is to precede the final deliverance. We now proceed to an investigation of this passage and its motifs.

1. *The Stricken Shepherd.*

Zech 11:4-17 and 13:7-9 both feature a stricken shepherd and a suffering flock. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may probably be assumed that their similarity of imagery and theme indicate that the same figure is represented in each case.² The sequence of events is obscure, but something such as the following seems to be envisaged. The shepherd is appointed by Yhwh to pasture the flock (11:4-5). He does

¹ עת צרה לישראל (IQM XV.1).

² Ewald felt the similarity so keenly that he suggested 13:7-9 should be placed following 11:17 (cf. Saebo, *Sacharja*, 276. R. Driver, *Minor Prophets*, 271). Mason [*Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 110] and Hanson [*Dawn*, 338-9] concur, as does NEB, which actually transfers 13:7-9 to the end of chapter 11. Black [*Rejected and Slain Messiah*, 70-71] notes that the two passages should be considered together.

so, dismissing former shepherds who had oppressed them (11:7-8). Shepherd and flock then become weary of one another, and he rejects them (11:8-14). At Yhwh's command he personates a worthless shepherd (11:15-16). An oracle announces that he will be smitten by Yhwh, apparently for deserting the flock (11:17).³ The narrative then proceeds through 11:18 to 13:6, until there is a return to the theme of the striking of the shepherd (13:7). The result of his death is that the flock are scattered. Two-thirds perish, and one third are refined, tested, and restored to covenant with Yhwh (13:7-9).

The primary key to the identity of this figure is the shepherd metaphor itself. Shepherd is a widespread metaphor for kingship, both in the Bible and in other ancient Near Eastern literature.⁴ Before 2000 BCE an Egyptian writer, Ipu-wer, described an ideal king who would be 'the herdsman of all men. Evil is not in his heart. Though his herds may be small, still he has spent the day caring for them.'⁵ Hammurabi, in the prologue to his laws, identified himself as 'the Shepherd called by Enlil'.⁶ In the Bible Yhwh is commonly compared to a shepherd, as are human leaders.⁷ And the almost identical parallelism of the passage in hand makes it quite clear that the 'shepherd' is a royal figure: *I will cause men to fall each into the hand of his shepherd, and each into the hand of his king* (11:6).

So the shepherd of the passage would seem to be a king. But more than that, he would appear to be a Davidic king. This can be seen from the parallel between Zech 11 and Ezk 34.⁸ Instead of two sticks being joined to represent the reunification of Israel (Ezk 34:16ff), one stick is broken to represent their division (Zech 11:14). Instead of a covenant of peace being established (Ezk 34:26), a covenant with the nations, presumably for the sake of Israel's peace (since its breaking is followed by desolations [v.16]), is broken (Zech 11:10). Instead of predictions of peace and harmony

³ The identification of my worthless shepherd (רַעִי הָאֵלֶּיל; v.17) with the divinely appointed shepherd of v.4 is supported by v.15, where the shepherd of v.4 is told to *take again the implements of a foolish shepherd* (רַעִי הָאֵלֶּיל). This shows that the shepherd of vv.15-17 is the one of v.4 adopting another persona, and moreover, as the עוֹרֵךְ makes clear, he is also the one who rejects the flock in vv.8-14. As Rudolph notes 'Daß er nicht sich selbst spielt ist aus v.15ff. völlig klar und ist deshalb auch für v.4ff. maßgebend' [Sacharja, 205]. The identification of the figure of v.17 with that of v.4 is further confirmed by his being Yhwh's shepherd (רַעִי; v.17).

⁴ Davidson, *Jeremiah*, 11:24; Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 264.

⁵ ANET, 443.

⁶ ANET, 164.

⁷ Yhwh as shepherd: Gen 49:24; Isa 40:11; Ezk 34:11ff; Pss 23:1; 74:1; 78:52; 79:13; 80:2[1]; 95:7; 100:3. Human kings as shepherd: Num 27:17; Isa 44:28; Jer 6:3; 23:2-4; Ezk 34:2ff; 37:24; Mic 5:3[4].

⁸ These reversed motifs are noted by Hanson, *Dawn*, 344; R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 271.

(34:26ff), there are predictions of devastation (Zech 11:16). And, particularly, instead of one divinely-appointed shepherd, David, caring for the flock (Ezk 34:23), there is a divinely-appointed shepherd who briefly cares for the flock, then consigns them to destruction (Zech 11:4-9). These parallels suggest that the shepherd of Zech 11-13 should be regarded, like the one of Ezk 34, as a Davidic king. This supposition is confirmed by the shepherd's intimate relation to Yhwh. He is appointed by him (11:4), and Yhwh calls him *my shepherd* (רָעִי: 11:17; 13:7), and *my socially equal friend* (גִּבּוֹר עִמִּיתִי: 13:7). There are few biblical kings of whom such language puts us in mind as readily as David. He was the shepherd-king *par excellence*, taken from the sheepfolds to be the shepherd of Israel (Ps 78:70-72). And OT tradition accepts no king, other than of *bet* David, as divinely appointed ruler over Israel.⁹ Thus Gese states,

It seems certain that the mysterious title ["my shepherd, the man who stands next to me"], which hints at divine sonship, refers to the Davidic king, and this term of honor, together with the quite positive royal title 'my shepherd,' can only refer to a ruler who is acknowledged by God.¹⁰

Thus this passage would appear to feature an eschatological Davidic king – a messiah, in the later sense of the word – who is stricken by God. This view was certainly known in ancient interpretation. The NT applies Zech 13:7 to its messiah (Mt 26:31; Mk 14:27). GenR 98:9 apparently identifies the one given the thirty silver pieces in Zech 11:12 as the Messiah. Following a discussion on the messianic interpretation of Gen 49:11 and Zech 9:9, it says,

For what purpose will the King Messiah come and what will he do? He will come to assemble the exiles of Israel and to give them [the Gentiles] thirty precepts, as it is said, *And I said to them, 'If you think it best, give me my hire; and if not, keep it.' So they weighted for my hire thirty pieces of silver* (Zech 11:12).¹¹

LamR 2.2.4 applies Zech 11:17, *Woe to the worthless shepherd*, to Bar Kokhba, whom some considered a messianic figure for a time (yTaan 4:8) and who is said to have claimed to be Messiah (bSanh 93b). Several apocalyptic midrashim cite Zech 13:9 and 14:2 in regard to the scattering of Israel which is to follow the death of Messiah ben Joseph.¹¹ Modern commentators also recognize the figure's messianic identity. As Ackroyd notes,

⁹ See, e.g. 2 Sam 7:16; 1 Ki 8:16; Isa 9:7; Ps 89:5, 36-8 [4, 35-7]; 132:10-18.

¹⁰ Gese, *Biblical Theology*, 151.

¹¹ Zech 13:9 is cited, following the death of Messiah, at Otot 7:19 and NRSbY 24. (Both texts are cited in Appendix I.) Sa'adya, *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.5 cites Zech 14:2.

The description of the shepherd as 'the man who stands next to me' – an associate of God, a suitable term for a royal figure – perhaps suggests a disaster to some messianic personage (should we compare 12:10?), so that the picture is one of messianic woes ushering in the final age.¹²

Rudolph sums up the issues as follows.

In v.10b identifiziert er sich mit Jahwe (כרתי), in v.13 Jahwe mit ihm (יקרתי), und was er redet und tut, ist "Jahwes Wort" (11b). Er ist also Jahwes Stellvertreter auf Erden, und bei der starken Abhängigkeit der Vision von Ez 34 kann kein Zweifel sein, daß damit nur des Messias gemeint sein kann (Ez 34,23; 37,24).¹³

2. The Pierced One.

At the centre of the pericope bounded by the 'stricken shepherd' passages (11:4-17; 13:7-9) occurs another description of an afflicted hero, one who has been pierced, and upon whom Israel gaze and greatly mourn (12:10-14). Like the stricken shepherd, this figure seems to be Yhwh's representative, and intimately connected with him. This is seen from the divine oracle which speaks as if Yhwh himself is pierced in this figure – *they will look upon me (אלי) whom they have pierced and mourn for him* (12:10) – the reading אלי being supported not only by the majority of Hebrew texts, but by LXX,¹⁴ Targum,¹⁵ Syriac, and Vulgate. The following verse, which describes the mourning for this pierced one as *like the mourning for/of Hadad-Rimmon in the plain of Megiddo* (12:11), provides two further analogies, Baal and Josiah, which help identify this figure further.

One of the bynames of Baal attested in the Ugaritic texts is 'Hadad'.¹⁶ Consequently, commentators have suggested that the writer 'is making direct reference to the standard ritual wailing for Baal-Hadad, the god of rainfall and fertility, who is ousted from the earth during the dry summer.'¹⁷ Such ritual mourning might have resembled

¹² P. R. Ackroyd, "Zechariah," in *PCB*, 654-55.

¹³ Rudolph, *Sacharja*, 205.

¹⁴ LXX softens the fate of the pierced one: καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἄνθ' ὃν κατωρχήσαντο καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτόν, *they will look to me because they (the enemies?) have danced in triumph (over him), and they will mourn for him*, the verb κατωρχέομαι meaning *dance in triumph*, or, figuratively, *treat despitefully* (Liddell & Scott, *ad loc.*). But the reading *look to me* is nonetheless confirmed.

¹⁵ The Targum also departs from the Hebrew. Instead of *they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*, it reads 'they shall entreat me because they were exiled' ויבצעו מן קדמי על דר איתלטלו. Note however that its קדמי confirms MT's אלי, Yhwh being the object of Israel's attention in each case.

¹⁶ 2.i.46; 4.vii.36; 12.i.41; Texts at Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 43, 65, 134.

¹⁷ Gaster, *Myth*, 687. Similar opinions are expressed by Bruce, *NT Development*, 113; Mason, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 119-120; R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 278; Stuhlmüller, *Haggai & Zechariah*, 149-50; Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 84. Lamarche cites many other commentators, from Hitzig to the mid-twentieth century, who endorse this viewpoint. Gaster suggests that much of the imagery of Zech 9-14, particularly that of rain, rivers, and fertility in 14:7-19, is conceived in terms of the background of

the mourning for the god in the geographically and conceptually related Dumuzi (Tammuz) cult, described at Ezk 8:14. The opinion of Jerome, that Hadad-Rimmon was a town, does not necessarily contradict this.¹⁸ For any town named after Hadad, especially within the borders of Israel, is likely to have been a place where cultic worship of Hadad was established and where ritual mourning was made for the slain god. Three things may probably be inferred from this comparison. First, the writer of Zech 9-14 was aware of some kind of correspondence between his eschatological programme and some form of the ancient cosmogonic Baal Cycle. The fact that such a reference is likely to have shocked his contemporaries suggests it was consciously made. Second, he regarded the death of this figure as in some ways like the death of Baal, whose death brought life and fertility to earth, and was followed by his resurgence. Third, the comparison with 'Our King, Highness Baal' implies the exalted nature and royal status of the pierced one.¹⁹

The royal status of the pierced one is confirmed by another figure evoked by the metaphor of 12:11, that is, Josiah, killed at Megiddo by Pharaoh Neco (2Ki 23:29; 2Chr 35:25). This is how the Targum understands the verse: *At that time the mourning in Jerusalem shall be as great as the mourning for Ahab bar Omri whom Hadadrimmon bar Tabrimmon killed, and as the mourning for Josiah bar Amon whom Pharaoh the Lame killed in the valley of Megiddon.*²⁰ The reference to Ahab is hard to understand. According to the biblical record he died not at Megiddo, but at Ramoth Gilead east of the Jordan, more than 80km away (1Ki 22:29ff; 2Chr 18:28ff). Nor is there any record of mourning for him. Rather, it is said that dogs licked up his blood (1Ki 22:38), an end which, having been foretold by Elijah as a recompense for his crime, must be considered the opposite of a lamented death (1Ki 21:19). An explanation for this reference to Ahab is that it may be an attempt to account for the term *Hadad-Rimmon*, by one who either did not understand it, or disliked the

pagan seasonal festivals [*Myth*, 686-7]. One might also add the emphasis on Yhwh as raingiver in 10:1, and his storm-riding advent to deliver (9:14).

¹⁸ He writes: '... urbs est juxta Jezraelem, ... et hodie vocatur Maximianopolis in campo Mageddon, in que Josias, rex justus, a Pharaone cognomento Nechao vulneratus est' (Comm. on Zech 12:11, in *PL*, XXV. 1515.c).

¹⁹ *mlkn. 'al'iny. b'l. Baal* III.E.40. The text is in Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 54.

²⁰ The Targum to Zech 12:11 is also cited in the Talmud at bMeg 3a; bMK 28b; and is alluded to at BK 17a. However, the verse is cited in connection with Ahab, as the basis of an *a fortiori* argument that, if he was mourned, how much more should others be. Josiah is not mentioned. But there may be a distant connection between Josiah and Zech 12:10 at bMK 25b, which cites Amos 10:8c in regard to the death of Josiah. This passage from Amos looks like yet another of deutero-Zechariah's sources, for it resembles Zech 12:10 in its reference to mourning *like the mourning for an only son* (יחיד). If the talmudic tradition linking Amos 10:8 to Josiah was an old one, then the Zecharian writer's allusion to that verse may have been an allusion to the death of Josiah.

comparison between Baal and Yhwh's representative, deriving the term as the name of the king of Aram, who ordered Ahab's death (1 Ki 22:31; 2 Chr 18:30), and whose royal house favoured names with the theophoric element 'Hadad' (1 Ki 20:1ff; 2 Sam 8:3ff; 1 Ki 11:23). However, the reference to Josiah makes more sense. Megiddo was the place where he received his mortal wound, and possibly died.²¹ Unlike Ahab, he was mourned greatly throughout Israel, and the mourning continued by decree year after year until at least the time of the writer of 3 Ezra (2 Chr 35:24-5; 3 Ezra 1:32). Jerome, who was not unacquainted with rabbinic interpretation, recognizes a reference to the death of Josiah in this verse, as do some modern commentators.²² Thus, if a reference to Josiah may legitimately be seen here, then the pierced one, by analogy, may be taken as an antitype of Josiah, that is, as an eschatological Davidic king. The Davidic lineage of the pierced one is confirmed by the fact that the *house of David* mourn for him (12:10,12). The descendants of David would be expected to mourn a stricken king of their own number. But they, the representatives of what the OT regards as the only legitimate ruling house of Jerusalem, would hardly be expected to mourn the passing of a king who was of another lineage, and therefore a usurper.

It seems therefore fair to suggest that the pierced one of 12:10-14, like the stricken shepherd, is an eschatological Davidic king, and therefore a messianic figure in a fairly full sense of the word. Certainly this is how ancient interpretation understands it. The NT applies Zech 12:10 to its messiah, Jesus (Jn 19:37; Rev 1:7). A talmudic *baraita*, attributed to the early tannaitic period, applies the same verse to the slain Messiah ben Joseph (bSuk 52a). The verse is applied to the same messianic figure, also known as ben/bar Ephraim, in the marginal reading of the Codex Reuchlinianus Targum to Zech 12:10, which Gordon regards as older than the standard targumic reading on this verse.²³

²¹ There seems to be a discrepancy here between Kings and Chronicles. The former states that Josiah was killed at Megiddo (2 Ki 23:29), the latter, together with 3 Ezra, that he was mortally wounded there, but died in Jerusalem (2 Chr 35:25; 3 Ezra 1:30-31). Kings may be regarding his death as proleptically actual in his mortal wound. Or, on the other hand, Chronicles, followed by 3 Ezra, may have relocated Josiah's death in Jerusalem, for reasons related to its Davidic and Jerusalem theology.

²² Jerome, Comm. on Zech 12:11 (PL, XXV. 1515.c); Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 203; Stuhlmüller, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 148-9.

²³ Gordon suggests the omission of the piercing in the standard Targum (cited earlier) may be due to its being 'subjected to (incomplete) revision as a reaction to Christian citation of this verse as a messianic proof-text' [Cathcart & Gordon, *Targum*, 220, n.2]. If this is so, then the above reading would represent an Aramaic version dating from before the split between church and synagogue in the last decades of the first century.

And I shall cause to rest upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of prophecy and true prayer. And afterwards the Messiah bar Ephraim will go out to do battle with Gog, and Gog will slay him in front of the gate of Jerusalem. And they shall look to me and shall inquire of me why the nations pierced Messiah bar Ephraim.

A host of later Jewish texts likewise interpret Zech 12:10 of this figure.²⁴ Several modern interpreters too have suggested that there is intentional depiction of a messianic figure in this passage. Lamarche, for instance, suggests

Cette conversion qui semble sincère et définitive, la transformation des cœurs opérée par Yahweh et la source de purification, qui rappellent les eaux pures d'Ez 36,23-28, les expressions « en ce jour-là », l'importance de deuil, le fait que Yahweh s'estime transpercé à travers son représentant, tout cela nous inviterait à voir dans ce personnage le Messie.²⁵

3. One Afflicted Hero in Zech 9-14?

The pierced one of Zech 12:10-14 has a number of characteristics in common with the stricken shepherd of Zech 11:4-17 and 13:7-9. Both are Yhwh's representative and intimately associated with him. Both are eschatological kings, probably of the house of David. Both die a violent death, one by the sword, the other pierced through by an indeterminate sharp instrument, presumably sword or spear. Such similarities, together with the inclusio structure which the stricken shepherd passages form around the pierced one of 12:10-14, have led several commentators to suggest that the two figures should be equated.²⁶ This conclusion is also supported by ancient interpreters, who equate both the stricken shepherd and the pierced one with slain Messiah ben Joseph. The midrash *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai* cites Zech 12:10 in regard to Messiah ben Joseph, and proceeds to describe the consequent exile with Zech 13:9, which describes the events following the death of the stricken shepherd.²⁷

Indeed, Lamarche has suggested that both these suffering figures should be equated with the coming king of Zech 9:9ff., thus making one king figure central to the whole

²⁴ Midrash Wayyosha' (*BHM* I:55-57) §20 (p.56); AsM 4.14 (Appendix I); NRSbY 24 (Appendix I); Sa'adya, *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII.5; Abravanel on Zech 12:10; Alshekh, *Marot ha-Tsove'ot* on Zech 12:10. Rashi and Kimhi [Comms. on Zech 12:10] note the prevalence of the messianic interpretation of this verse among their predecessors, although they themselves proffer alternative interpretations. AgM 27 (Appendix I) applies Zech 12:12, describing the mourning for the pierced one, to Messiah ben Joseph.

²⁵ Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 85. Similar views are expressed by Rudolph, *Sacharja 9-14*, 224; Torrey, "The Messiah, Son of Ephraim," 253-77.

²⁶ Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 150-2; Rudolph, *Sacharja 9-14*, 223-4; Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 85; P. R. Ackroyd, "Zechariah" in *PCB*, 654-55.

²⁷ NRSbY 24 (See Appendix I).

eschatological programme of Zech 9-14.²⁸ Several points would seem to support this. First, as was noted in chapter V, the figure of Zech 9:9ff., like the afflicted hero(s) of Zech 11-13, is an eschatological Davidic king. Second, this figure, like those of Zech 11-13, is afflicted (עני: 9:9). Indeed, a number of recent commentators have suggested that the conception of all these royal figures, as well as other details of Zech 9-14, seems to be substantially based upon the depiction of the afflicted עבד יהוה of deuterio-Isaiah, and especially upon the account of his death in Isa 53.²⁹

At the first appearance of the king in Zech 9:9, he is צדיק, עני, and נושע by Yhwh, all characteristics of the Isaianic figure (53:11,7; 50:7,9; 61:10).³⁰ Such language denotes, as Mason observes,

... one who, like the Servant of Second Isaiah, and perhaps the עני of some of the Psalms, has suffered wrongfully, and been deemed to be 'afflicted'; but who, in fact, is צדיק, and even more, the bearer of salvation to others.³¹

Both figures are represented as humble and gentle in bearing (Zech 9:9; Isa 42:2). Both become an international cynosure, bringing blessing to the nations, peace or justice, light, and salvation (Zech 9:10; Isa 42:1,4,6; 49:6). Both release captives from the pit or dungeon and the released captives receive a double portion (Zech 9:11-12; Isa 42:7; 61:1,7). Both gather the scattered people of Israel (Zech 9:12; Isa 49:5-6). The resemblances between the afflicted hero(s) of Zech 11-13 and the Isaianic figure are just as marked. For instance, both are pierced. As Rudolph notes,

²⁸ Lamarche [*Zacharie IX-XIV*, 150-157] finds a messianic figure portrayed in the coming king (9:9-10), the rejected shepherd (11:4-17), the pierced one (12:10-13:1), and the smitten shepherd (13:7-9).

²⁹ Rudolph, *Sacharja 9-14*, 213, 224; Lamarche, *Zacharie IX-XIV*, 124-30; Mason, *Zechariah*, 88, 119; Peter R. Ackroyd, "Zechariah" in *PCB*, 654; Mitchell, *et al.*, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 331; Wolff, *Jesaja 53 in Urchristentum*, 40; Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 66-68; 83-88. The likelihood of Zecharian dependence on deuterio-Isaiah is confirmed by the recent work of Hanson, who argues that the visionary tradition which produced Zech 9-14 and Trito-Isaiah descended from the author of Deutero-Isaiah [Hanson, *Dawn*, 404-407].

³⁰ Of course, the identification of the עבד יהוה of the servant songs with the משיח רוח of Isa 61:1ff. cannot be automatically assumed. The references to the latter figure are therefore included only as subsidiary evidence, the parallels between the Zecharian figure(s) and the servant being clear enough in themselves. Nonetheless, Beuken has argued for the identification of the herald of Isa 52:7, the suffering servant of Isa 53, and the anointed of Isa 61 ["Servant and Herald," 411-42]. Lim has suggested that 11QMelch links the herald of Isa 52 with the anointed of Isa 61, and with the dying prince/messiah of Dan 9 ["Appendix 1," in Vermes, "Rule of War," 92]. The last of these connections might also suggest a link between the anointed of Isa 61 and the suffering servant. Such ideas are in keeping with recent rejection of the tendency, which originated with Duhm [*Jesaja* (1st edn; 1892)], to view the 'servant songs' as a genre apart from their wider Deutero-Isaianic context. Instead, there is an emphasis on viewing them within their context [Mettinger, *Farewell to the Servant Songs*; Sawyer, "Daughter of Zion," 89-107].

³¹ Mason, *Earlier Biblical Material*, 52. Mason seems to follow LXX Zech 9:9, σῶζων, rather than MT's *niph'al* נושע. But the root ישע is used of the figures of Zech 9:9 and Isa 61:10 nonetheless.

Dieser [the pierced one of Zech 12:10] kann wegen 13,7 (siehe dort) kein anderer sein als der Messias von 11,4ff., der demnach so mißfällig und untragbar geworden war, daß man ihm nach dem Leben trachtete (auch hier steht der Prophet unter dem Einfluß von Jes 53, wo in V.5 die Verba **דָּכָא** und **דָּקַר** mit dem hier gebrauchten **דָּקַר** synonym sind).³²

Both are associated with shepherd imagery (Zech 11:4-17; 13:7-9; Isa 53:6-7) and suffer because of a scattered flock (Zech 11:17; Isa 53:6). Both believe they have laboured in vain (Zech 11:4-9; Isa 49:4). Both are rejected by the people (Zech 11:8; Isa 53:3). Both suffer in accordance with the will of Yhwh (Zech 13:7; Isa 53:6,10). Both die in consequence of the sins of the people (11:8-17; 53:5-6). Both are mourned by the people (12:10; 53:4-12). Both provide some kind of atonement for the people by their death (12:10-13:1,9; 53:5-12).³³ And, if the parallel with Hadad in Zech 12:11 is followed to its conclusion, then the pierced one, like the Isaianic figure, will rise to dominion and power after his suffering and affliction (Isa 53:10-12). In addition, a number of other linguistic links exist between the language of Zech 9-14 and deutero-Isaiah. Each has a divine oracle announcing to **בְּתִצִּיּוֹן** the coming of her deliverer or king (Zech 9:9; Isa 62:11). Each has divine oracles in the name of Yhwh who stretches out the heavens, founds the earth, and gives life to its people (Zech 12:1; Isa 42:5; 51:13). Each describes Israel's coming redemption in terms of passing through the sea, as at the exodus (Zech 10:11; Isa 63:11f.). And each envisages a consummation in which all nations will gather to worship Yhwh in Jerusalem (Zech 14:16; Isa 66:23).

Thus there is some basis for identifying the stricken king of Zech 11-13 with the coming king of Zech 9:9ff., making one king figure central to Zech 9-14. As regards this figure, Black would appear to be justified when he comments, 'The unique picture which has emerged may well be the result of the combination of the future Davidic leader from Ezekiel (and elsewhere) with the servant of Isaiah.'³⁴

³² Rudolph, *Sacharja 9-14*, 224.

³³ That the events of 13:1 are consequent on those of 12:10-14 is seen from the fact that the fountain is opened to cleanse *the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem* (13:1), precisely those who in 12:10 have bestowed on them **רוּחַ חֵן וְרַחֲמִים** *a spirit of mercy and supplication*, which results in their mourning the pierced one (12:11-14). That the phrase *the house of David and inhabitants of Jerusalem* (12:10; 13:1) functions as an inclusio is noted by Lamarche [*Zacharie*, 85-6], who argues that Zech 12:10-13:1 is a literary unit with the structure ABB'A', and by Rudolph [*Sacharja*, 227]; R. L. Smith [*Micah-Malachi*, 280] also notes its literary-structural significance.

³⁴ Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 88.

4. A Latterday Exile in Zech 13:7-14:2.

According to Zech 13:7-9, several events follow as a consequence of the king's being struck. First, *the sheep will be scattered*, a phrase suggesting Israel's exile from the land (13:7).³⁵ Then, among those left *in the land*, two-thirds will be slain, and one third will remain (13:8). This surviving third will be refined and tested; they will call on Yhwh, who will answer them and, as the covenant formula implies (13:9c), restore them to covenant (13:8-9). According to Zech 14:1-2, the nations' attack will result in half the population of Jerusalem being exiled, while the other half remain in the city. The two sections, 13:7-9 and 14:1-2, should probably be regarded as describing events of the same period. Not only does the one follow the other without intermission, but to regard them as describing different events would make it necessary to posit two eschatological exiles, which would certainly complicate the scenario. The dual causes of the scattering, the striking of the king and the foreign invasion, need not contradict this. Events may have multiple causes; the removal of a charismatic leader may occasion national disintegration as surely as foreign invasion. Thus a composite picture of Zech 13:7-14:2 envisages Israel desolated by the nations at about the time their king suffers. Two-thirds of the people will be slain (13:8), some will remain in the land, including half the inhabitants of Jerusalem (13:8; 14:2), and some will go into exile (13:7; 14:2).

This theme may also have been borrowed from Ezekiel. Although we noted that the eschatological programme of Ezk 34-48 lacks the events of Zech 11-13, nevertheless an earlier section, Ezk 20:34-38, does seem to be aware of a period of trouble, which bears a number of similarities to Zech 13:7-14:2, prior to the final deliverance. This period is to be an exile in the **מדבר עמים** (Ezk 20:35). The writer draws a deliberate parallel with the desert wanderings of the exodus (20:35-6) as does the writer of Zech 10:10-12.³⁶ The purpose of this eschatological exodus is to purify Israel (Ezk 20:38; cf. Zech 13:9). Thereafter they will dwell in their land, faithful to Yhwh and free of idolatry (Ezk 20:39ff; cf. Zech 13:2-9). The main difference between the two accounts is that Ezekiel's account seems to envisage the testing as taking place immediately

³⁵ The verb **פָּוֶץ** is frequently used in the OT, particularly in Ezekiel and Jeremiah, to denote Israel's exile. *BDB*, 807, notes that this usage frequently occurs, as in Zech 13:7, in the context of pastoral imagery. See eg. Dt 4:27; 28:64; 30:3; 32:26; Jer 9:15[16]; 10:21; 13:24; 18:17; 23:1-2; 30:11; Ezk 11:16,17; 12:15; 20:23,34,41; 22:15; 28:25; 34:5,6,21; 36:19; Neh 1:8.

³⁶ It should be noted that, although this passage refers chiefly to the initial ingathering, its vision seems to overshoot this initial event and even the events of Zech 11-13, and look to Israel's ultimate restoration to covenant with Yhwh (Zech 10:12), somewhat as in Zech 13:9.

preceding Israel's return to the land (20:38), whereas the Zecharian account seems to regard it as a result of the invasion which comes upon Israelites returned to the land (14:2). However, the idea which both accounts have in common is that a time of testing is to precede the final deliverance. Indeed, a synthesis between the two could be made, if we allow that the initial ingathering is partial, as Isa 66:19ff suggests. In that case the Zecharian account would refer to the dispersal of the partial number already gathered, while Ezekiel would refer to a testing of those not yet gathered. Some such harmonisation was probably envisaged by later interpreters, who did regard the initial ingathering as partial, and equated Ezekiel's *desert of the nations* with the same period as the exile of Zech 13:7-14:2.³⁷

In this context, Hos 2:16[14] might also be considered. The passage is eschatological in tone.³⁸ It describes a time when Israel will be faithful, there will be a covenant with brute creation, war will be abolished from the land, and earth will be fruitful (2:18-25 [16-23]). However, a desert exile must precede this golden age: *Therefore I am now going to allure her; I will lead her into the desert and speak tenderly to her* (v.16[14]). The idea may have arisen from cyclic views of history which, as in Ezk 20:36, expected the latter redemption, like the former, to be preceded by a desert-exile. Ancient interpreters certainly connect this verse with the eschatological exile preceding the messianic *malkut*.³⁹ Micah too envisages a time of trouble – the impending Babylonian exile (4:10) – between the attack and the final deliverance (4:1-8, 13). Although this lacks the fully eschatological viewpoint of Zechariah, it may also indicate a tradition that exile was to precede the latter redemption.

5. A King Concealed in Zech 14.

I suggested in chapter V that Zech 14 depicts a messianic *malkut* apparently without a messiah. I would now suggest further that a messianic figure may indeed be present, in and with the person of Yhwh descending upon the Mount of Olives and coming

³⁷ Otot 7:19 cites Zech 13:9 and Ezk 20:38 in regard to the exile following the death of ben Joseph. Sa'adya cites both Zech 14:2 and Ezk 20:35-38 in regard to the same event (VIII:5; Rosenblatt, 302-3). Both regard the initial ingathering as partial (Otot 6:6; Sa'adya VIII:5; Rosenblatt, 302). The writer of 1QM I:3 regards the *מְדַבֵּר עִמָּם* of Ezk 20:35 as the precursor to the final deliverance, an event which he describes in language resembling Zechariah 14. (See the discussion of this text later in this chapter.)

³⁸ So Braude, on commenting on the passage at *Pesikta Rabbati*, I:320n. As regards the wider context, Kuhnigk considers that *עֲלָה מִן הָאָרֶץ* (Hos 2:2[1:11]) is resurrection language [*Studien*, 8-10], an idea which Stuart considers 'appealing' [*Hosea-Jonah*, 36]. Renaud also notes the eschatological tone of this passage ["Osée II.2: 'LH MN H'RS'", 498].

³⁹ Otot 7:21; PR 15.10. The citation of Hos 3:4 at CD II.16 suggests the Qumran writer regarded the Hosean passage as eschatological prediction.

with his holy ones (vv.4-5). What initially prompts such a reading is that messianic interpretation of vv.4-5 appears to have existed in ancient times. TNaph 5:1 describes the sun and moon standing still on the Mount of Olives, where they are seized by Levi and Judah. This suggests the writer is depicting the Mount as a place of messianic activity in terms of the messianism of T12P, which anticipates a priestly messiah from Levi and a royal messiah from Judah.⁴⁰ In Second Temple times the Mount was known as הַר הַמְּשִׁיחָה.⁴¹ The origin of the term is unknown. It may have something to do with the oil derived from the olive harvest. But, in the light of later traditions, a messianic reference, even a punning one, cannot be excluded. Josephus records how one who claimed to be a prophet collected 30 000 followers and led them from the desert to the Mount of Olives, asserting that at his command Jerusalem's walls would fall and they would take the city from the Romans.⁴² The account suggests at least that the Mount was regarded as significant by messianic claimants. Acts 1:11 anticipates the coming of Messiah to the Mount of Olives. 1 Thess 3:13 alludes to the descent of Yhwh with his holy ones in Zech 14:5, but says that the one to come is *our Lord Jesus*. The midrash *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai* has the same sequence of events as Zech 13:7-14:3, that is, death of Messiah, desert exile, and heavenly deliverer (25-28).⁴³ The only difference is that the deliverer is the King Messiah, described with a citation from Dan 7:13, and not Yhwh. Since this sequence of events occurs in the Bible only in Zechariah, it seems that this writer's traditions considered the Messiah as included in the reference to Yhwh in Zech 14:3. The late midrash *Ma'aseh Daniel* relates that, 'Messiah ben David, and Elijah, and Zerubbabel will go to the top of the Mount of Olives, and the Messiah will command Elijah to sound the trumpet. . . . And at the second blast of the trumpet which Elijah will blow, the dead will live.'⁴⁴ Texts and traditions which associate the Mount of Olives with the resurrection of the dead, even without mentioning Messiah, should also be considered,⁴⁵ for the resurrection

⁴⁰ As regards the messianism of T12P, see Kee, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," [Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 775-828], 779.

⁴¹ J. Braslavi & M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount of Olives" [*EJ* XII:481-5], 483.

⁴² Josephus, *War*, II:261-63; *Ant*, XX.169-70.

⁴³ The text is cited in Appendix I.

⁴⁴ Jellinek, *BHM*, V:128.

⁴⁵ The Codex Reuchlinianus text of Tg Zech 14:4 adds, preceding the splitting of the Mount of Olives, the words, 'At that time the Lord will take in his hand the great trumpet and will blow ten blasts upon it to revive the dead.' The north wall of the mid-third century synagogue at Dura-Europos contains, in the 'Ezekiel Cycle', a painting of a mountain split in the middle, which has dead bodies within it. In the following picture the dead are raised by angels [Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 149-150]. This would appear to be a representation of the dead rising from the split Mount of Olives of Zech 14:4. A similar idea is found in Tg. Song 8:5: 'When the dead rise, the Mount of Olives will be cleft, and all Israel's dead will come up out of it. Also the righteous who have died in captivity, they will come by way of a subterranean passage and will emerge from beneath the Mount of Olives.' Finally, the Mount and the

was commonly understood to be a messianic function, or at least to take place during the messianic reign.⁴⁶

What might have led these interpreters to regard the reference to Yhwh's descent on the Mount in Zech 14:4 as including the person of the Messiah? It is hard to say, but two factors may have contributed to it.

(1) The high degree of anthropomorphism in Zech 14:4 might have suggested a human figure. Biblical references to God's feet are generally found in supraterrrestrial imagery (Ex 24:10; 2 Sam 22:10; Ps 18:10[9]; Na 1:3) or in passages which describe the Temple as Yhwh's footstool (Isa 60:13; 66:1; Ezk 43:7; Lam 2:1; Ps 99:5; 132:7; 1 Chr 28:2), as opposed to his throne in heaven. Both these usages emphasize Yhwh's divine majesty and immensity, but do not necessarily suggest his physical contact with the earth. Another passage comes closer to doing so: *Before him will go plague, and pestilence will proceed with his feet* (Hab 3:5). But even this depiction of Yhwh striding along between heaven and earth lacks the actuality of the present passage. For Zech 14:4-5 not only predicts that Yhwh will come and make physical contact with the earth, but also names the exact geographical spot at which his feet will touch, the result which this will have on both the land and the population of Jerusalem, compares the whole event to an historical earthquake, and sets it within the context of an eschatological programme's future conflict. The physical and geographical dimensions of such a picture might easily have led interpreters to regard the *Yhwh* of v.4 as representing Yhwh's human agent anointed with full divine power and authority.

(2) The conflation of Yhwh and the Davidic shepherd-king throughout Zech 9-14 would justify, even if it might not inspire, such an interpretation. The king describes Yhwh's covenant with the nations as his own (11:10). Yhwh reckons the price set upon Messiah as the price set upon him (11:12-13). The house of David is **כאלהים** (12:8). The piercing of the king is regarded by Yhwh as his own piercing (12:10). And Yhwh calls the shepherd-king **גבר עמיתי**, *my equal friend* (13:7).

Indeed, one might question why the writer has avoided any mention of the king in Zech 14. Could it be that the king is unmentioned simply because his presence is implied in the Lord descending on the Mount of Olives, and that Zech 14:4 is the apogee of this writer's high messianism?

Kidron Valley have been a favoured burial ground from First Temple times until the present, when virtually the entire area is covered in graves ["Mount of Olives," *EJ*:XII:481-5, 484]. This may suggest a longstanding association of the area with the resurrection.

⁴⁶ 4Q521.1.2.12 [Vermes, "Qumran Miscellanea," 303-4]; 1Thess 4:16-17; Rev 20:4-5; AgM 34-40; Otot 8:1-9:1; SefZ 49; PirM 5:45-49; 6:2-4; *Ma'aseh Daniel* (*BHM*, 117-130), 128.

6. *The Entire Eschatological Programme of Zech 9-14.*

A case can therefore be made for regarding the eschatological programme of Zech 9-14 as containing, in addition to the motifs identified earlier, the striking of an eschatological Davidic king and the consequent scattering of Israel. How these motifs cohere with the previously identified ones is not completely clear, but the following points may be made. The references to Israel's gathering begin at 9:11, after the coming of the king, and conclude at 10:12, after which there are no further references to this theme. Following the taunt-song (11:1-3), which functions as a kind of bridge-passage, the section Zech 11:4-13:9 can be outlined as follows.

- 11:4-17. Striking of shepherd and scattering of flock.
- 12:3. וְנִאֲסְפוּ עָלָיו כָּל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ
- 12:10-14. They look upon the pierced one and mourn for him.
- 13:7-9. Striking of shepherd and scattering of flock.
- 14:2. וְאִסַּפְתִּי אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלַם

What emerges is that the affliction of the king takes place in the general context of the eschatological conflict. Moreover, 11:4-17 may be regarded as an anticipation of 12:10-14 and 13:7-9, as it only implies the flock's ultimate scattering, whereas 13:7-9 states it explicitly. In that case, the affliction of the king-figure occurs between two references to eschatological attack (12:3-14:2). Does this indicate two separate attacks upon Jerusalem? It is hard to say. But it should be noted that the first reference to the nations' attack is followed by accounts of the striking of the king and the scattering of Israel (12:3-13:9), whereas the second is followed by an account of the divine rout of the attacking nations and the latterday prominence, glory, and dominion of Jerusalem. There is therefore a whole section of 'trouble for Israel' slotted in between the nations' attack and their final rout. This would be consistent with the general approach in Zech 11-13, whose themes, as noted above, appear to be a deliberate addition to the programme in Ezk 34 to 48, beginning with a conscious reversal of the motifs of Ezk 34. So it is possible to regard the death of the king and the subsequent scattering as taking place either between two separate attacks of the nations, or else following an attack, after which the nations remain in possession of Jerusalem. Either way it takes place between the first attack of the nations and the final divine deliverance, and Israel will apparently regather to Jerusalem at the end of the exile, for they are depicted as being there at the time of the final deliverance (14:2ff.). Thus Zech 9-14 as a whole seems to display an eschatological programme somewhat as follows.

Ingathering of Israel under eschatological king (9:11-10:12).	Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem (12:3/14:1).	King dies. Israel exiled. (12:10-14; 13:7-9; cf. 11:4-17).	Israel regather. Divine rout of nations (14:2-15).	Nations ascend to worship at Sukkoth in Jerusalem (14:16-21).
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Black, in his investigation of these chapters, similarly concludes that they contain ‘an implied larger schema’.⁴⁷ And while he cautions that, ‘It need not be precisely in this order,’ he still maintains that, ‘the formation of a general order is the natural consequence of interpreting the oracles of the eschatological period.’⁴⁸ He suggests that the order of events envisaged is as follows.

1. God gathers people from exile	9.11-12	10.6-12		
2. God sends shepherd/king	9.9	11.4ff.		
3. God condemns evil shepherds	10.1-3a	11.5	11.8	13.2-6
4. Shepherd/king is rejected	11.8ff.			
5. Shepherd/king is afflicted	9.9	11.17	13.7	12.10
6. God punishes people	11.6	11.15-16	14.1-2a	
7. God purifies and restores people	13.1	13.8-9	14.2b	
8. People mourn for shepherd	12.10ff.			
9. God fights against nations	9.1-6a	9.13-15	11.1-3	14.3-5,12-15
10. God strengthens people in battle	10.3b-5	12.1-9		
11. God establishes peaceful kingdom	9.10	9.16-17		
12. God glorifies Jerusalem	14.6-11	14.20-21		
13. God gathers nations to Jerusalem	9.6b-8	14.16		
14. God punishes nations who fail to come		14.17-19		

Black’s schema does differ in some details from mine. For instance, I would insert an initial foreign attack before the rejection and death of the king. But our proposed programmes are substantially the same, both in the motifs envisaged, and in the order in which they occur. I am not suggesting that this is the only possible interpretation of Zech 9-14. The passage is too complex for that. Other readings might be valid. But this interpretation is a possible one.

7. *The Eschatological Programme of Zech 9-14 in Context.*

This interpretation is confirmed when Zech 9-14 is viewed in the context of its historical precedents and antecedents. We noted above that the Zecharian writer makes deliberate reference to the Baal Cycle at Zech 12:11. He was apparently influenced by the ancient Ugaritic myth. Therefore it should not surprise us if a similarity is discernable between his programme and the motifs of the Baal Cycle outlined in chapter V. This can be seen in the following simple comparison of their motifs. The tablet Baal IV, which displays no clear internal evidence of its sequential position, has been placed after Baal V and VI.

⁴⁷ Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 57.

⁴⁸ Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 58. The table is from p.57.

Chapter VII: A Time of Trouble for Israel.

Baal II	Baal III	Baal V	Baal VI	Baal IV
Baal ousted. Returns to Sapunu.	Baal's conflict with Yam-Sea.	Baal pierced by Mot. Baal dies. Exiled from Sapunu in underworld.	Baal revives. Defeats Mot. Becomes king.	Palace built for triumphant Baal on holy mount. Worshippers bring tribute.

Zech 9-14.				
Ingathering of Israel under eschatological king (9:11-10:12).	Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem (12:3/14:1).	King dies. Israel exiled. (12:10-14; 13:7-9; cf. 11:4-17).	Israel regather. Divine rout of nations. <i>Malkut</i> inaugurated (14:2-15).	Nations ascend to worship at Sukkoth in Jerusalem (14:16-21).

This similarity would appear to confirm that the programme which I have detected in Zech 9-14 is not entirely of my own invention. The Zecharian programme is confirmed not only by its Ugaritic precedent, but also by its Israelite antecedents. For several post-Zecharian apocalyptic writers seem to anticipate a sequence of eschatological events similar to the above, and, in some cases, cite Zech 9-14 in regard to it. This shall be investigated in the remainder of this chapter.

II. The Eschatological Programme of Zech 9-14 in Later Literature.

In this section we shall examine a number of post-Zecharian apocalyptic and eschatological texts in order to show that the eschatological programme which we have identified in Zech 9-14 was indeed known to later writers.

1. Dan 9:24-27.

The sequence of events in this passage, whatever its historical significance, comes to us garbed in the language of eschatological prediction. As Goldingay notes,

... the terms used to describe these troubles are theologically freighted. The crisis is an anticipatory embodiment of the last great battle, a historical embodiment of the first great battle between the forces of chaos and the forces of order. Porteous compares Ezek 38-39 and 1QM.⁴⁹

The seer envisages a time of the end, after seventy sevens, when Israel's sin and waywardness will be removed, when they will have everlasting vindication (צדק עלמים), and when vision and prophecy will be 'sealed up' (9:24,27). The events preceding the end begin with the rebuilding of Jerusalem in *a time of trouble* (ובצוק העתים). This implies a former desolation of the city. Similarly, Israel's resurgence, implicit in the rebuilding, implies their former exile or subjugation. A *mashiah*-prince, an Israelite leader,⁵⁰ will come (9:25). This is followed by the

⁴⁹ Goldingay, *Daniel*, 261-2.

⁵⁰ 'A non-Israelite ruler would more naturally be referred to here as מלך, as commonly in Daniel. In the absence of indication to the contrary, then, "an anointed, a leader," is more likely an Israelite figure' [Goldingay, *Daniel*, 261].

'cutting-off' of a *mashiah* and the destruction of city and temple in the context of a foreign invasion (v.26). It is not clear whether the invasion precedes or follows the *mashiah's* cutting-off, for נגיד הבא can be taken either as the *prince who has come*, or the *prince to come*. If the former interpretation is adopted, then the cutting-off occurs between the initial invasion and the final deliverance, a sequence similar to the Zecharian one. If the latter interpretation is taken, the invasion might be seen as the consequence of the 'cutting off'. Whichever way, the foreign ruler will apparently control Jerusalem until *the decreed end is poured out upon him* (v.27). This again implies Israel's subjugation and, given their former experiences at conquerors' hands, probably also exile. The eventual 'outpouring of the decreed end' denotes divine judgment upon the invaders of Jerusalem, and implies the city's deliverance, and the inauguration of Israel's future golden age, referred to previously (v.24). The implied programme in this short passage is therefore somewhat as follows. The similarities to the Zecharian pattern should be recognizable.

Zech 9-14.	Ingathering of Israel.	Gathering of hostile nations.	Death of king and Israel's exile.	Divine rout of nations.	Nations worship in Jerusalem.
Dan 9:24-27.	Resurgence of Israel.	Implied gathering of hostile nations	Mashiah cut-off. Desolation (v.26)	Judgment poured out upon invader.	Era of Israel's sovereignty.

2. The Sibylline Oracles.

SibOr 2:161-76 describes the events that will happen in 'the last generation' (162), at the gathering of the harvest of articulate people (τὸ θέρος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων), that is, presumably, the god-fearing who fully possess the divine attribute of speech (164). There will be an ultimate revelation of the forces of evil, for false prophets, and then Beliar himself, will do signs on earth (165-8). Subsequent events are reminiscent of the Zecharian programme.

- ... Then indeed there will be confusion of holy
chosen and faithful men, and there will be a plundering
170 of these and of the Hebrews. A terrible wrath will come upon them
when a people of ten tribes will come from the east
to seek the people, which the shoot of Assyria destroyed,
of their fellow Hebrews. Nations will perish after these things.
Later will rule over them exceedingly mighty men,
175 faithful chosen Hebrews, having subjected
them as of old, since power will never fail.⁵¹

The events envisaged seem to be that an ingathering of Israel, the return of the ten tribes to seek their fellow Hebrews, will be followed or accompanied by 'a plundering' and 'a terrible wrath' against the Hebrews, suggesting the desolation of

⁵¹ J. J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," 349, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, I:317-472.

Israel by foreign powers. At the same time there will be a 'confusion of holy, chosen and faithful men.' Such a phrase might be taken as indicating one or more Israelite messianic kings and their followers. For since they suffer the wrath against Israel, they are presumably in the same location as Israel identified with them. Thereafter the nations will perish, having been subjected by 'exceedingly mighty, faithful, chosen Hebrews,' who will then rule over them. The fact that this subjugation comes from the divine 'power' which never fails (176), suggests that these Israelite kings are again messianic figures. This passage is then followed by a further lengthy description of the judgment of the world, including the coming of Elijah (187) and Messiah (241), which is probably intended to be another description of the same events rather than a sequel to them.

A sequence of events similar to the above occurs also in SibOr 3:652-723.

- And then God will send a king from the sun
who will stop the entire earth from evil war,
killing some, imposing oaths of loyalty on others;
655 and he will not do all these things by his private plans
but in obedience to the noble teaching of the great God.
The Temple of the great God (will be) laden with very beautiful wealth,
gold, silver, and purple ornament,
and earth (will be) productive and sea full
660 of good things. And kings will begin
to be angry with each other, requiting evils with spirit.
Envy is not good for wretched mortals.
But again the kings of the peoples will launch an attack
together against this land, bringing doom upon themselves,
665 for they will want to destroy the Temple of the great God
and most excellent men when they enter the land.
The abominable kings, each one with his throne
and faithless people, will set them up around the city.
And God will speak, with a great voice,
670 to the entire ignorant empty-minded people, and
judgment will come upon them from the great God, and all will perish
at the hand of the Immortal
-
675 The all-bearing earth will be shaken in those days
by the hand of the Immortal
-
680 He will break the lofty summits of the mountains and the mounds of giants
and the dark abyss will appear to all.
.....
- But the sons of the great God will all live
peacefully around the temple, rejoicing in these things
which the Creator, just judge and sole ruler, will give.
705 For he alone will shield them, standing by them magnificently
as if he had a wall of blazing fire round about.
They will be free from war in towns and country.
No hand of evil war, but rather the Immortal himself

- and the hand of the Holy One will be fighting for them.
 710 And then all islands and cities will say,
 "How much the Immortal loves those men!"

 716 "Come let us fall on the ground and entreat
 the immortal king, the great eternal God.
 Let us send to the Temple, since he alone is sovereign
 and let us all ponder the Law of the Most High God,
 720 who is most righteous of all throughout the earth.
 But we had wandered from the path of the Immortal.
 With mindless spirit we revered things made by hand,
 idols and statues of dead men."⁵²

God will send a king who will bring abundant peace to Jerusalem and the earth (663-660). It is not specifically said that this is an Israelite messiah, but his heavenly origin (652), his peacemaking (653), his obedience to the divine will (655-6), and his glorification of Jerusalem (657-8) suggest as much. Nor is an ingathering of Israel specifically mentioned. This relates, of course, to the problematic question of the dating of the parts of the Sibylline Oracles.⁵³ The silence on Israel's ingathering suggests the passage dates from before 68 CE, when Israel had some political control in their land. In that case the writer simply looks forward to a more glorious Jerusalem, possibly with a greater populace. If, however, the passage dates from after the destruction, then a future ingathering, although unstated, must be envisaged, if only to rebuild the temple. Either way, the glorious Temple implies a Zion populous with ministering priests and worshipping people. Thereafter an alliance of kings will attack the land, intending to destroy the Temple and *most excellent men*, including, surely, the king from the sun (660-68). They will apparently achieve some success in this, although the degree of destruction is not detailed, for they will subdue the land as far as Jerusalem, and set up their thrones around the city. Then God will destroy them and the earth will be shaken and convulsed (679-681). Thereafter God's sons will live peacefully in Zion (702-4). All the nations of the earth will repent of their idolatry and come to worship in Jerusalem (710-23; cf. also 772ff.). Thus this passage, with its softer 'time of trouble', presents a sequence of events much like that of Ezekiel, but also compatible with the Zecharian programme.

Thus the sequence of events envisaged in books two and three of the Sibylline Oracles resemble the Zecharian pattern as follows.

⁵² J. J. Collins, "The Sibylline Oracles," 376-8, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, I:317-472.

⁵³ Collins dates the main corpus of book three in the period 163-45 BCE (355), but considers that other passages were added later, one even as late as post-70 CE ["The Sibylline Oracles," 355-60, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, I:317-472].

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<i>Zech</i> 9-14.	<i>Ingathering of Israel.</i>	<i>Gathering of hostile nations.</i>	<i>Death of king and Israel's exile.</i>	<i>Divine rout of nations.</i>	<i>Nations gather to Jerusalem.</i>
<i>SibOr</i> 2: 161-76	Return of ten tribes.	Plundering and wrath against Hebrews. Confusion of holy, chosen, faithful men.		Nations will perish.	Israelite hero-kings will rule the nations.
<i>SibOr</i> 3: 652-68.	King from sun will subdue earth, restore Jerusalem.	Kings launch attack against Israel.	Subjugation of Israel.	Judgment from God on the invaders.	Israel dwell in peace; nations worship God.

3. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

There is much debate as to the dating of T12P. However the view of Kee, that the bulk of the work dates from the mid-second century BCE, and that it also contains later interpolations from a Christian source, can probably be taken as representing prevailing opinion.⁵⁴ In TJud 22-25 the narrator, Judah the patriarch, predicts the future of Israel. His starting point is the post-exilic period, as might be expected in a book written for post-exilic Israelites, and therefore the gathering from the Babylonian exile can be taken as the background to these predictions. Judah speaks of how his rule, that is the Judahite kingship of *bet-David*, shall be terminated by aliens until the salvation of Israel come, and all nations will enjoy tranquility and peace under a restored Davidic kingship (22:2-3). But this happy conclusion is to be preceded by tribulation. Because of Israel's sins, the Lord will send famine, plague, besieging, scattering, slaughter of infants, plunder of sustenance, rape of wives, destruction of the sanctuary, desolation of the land, and subjugation to Gentiles (23:1-4). The language, particularly the reference to rape, evokes Zech 14:2 with its full-scale invasion of Jerusalem. Exile too is suggested by the desolate land and the subsequent *captivity*, from which repentant Israel will later be divinely liberated (23:3,5). Thereafter Jerusalem will presumably be freed from heathen domination. A righteous Judahite king will arise and rule over the nations and judge among them (24:1-6). The curse of Babel will be revoked, for all mankind will speak one language. There shall be no spirit of error on the earth and the dead shall rise (25:1-4). Then, as previously said, all the nations shall dwell in tranquility (22:2).

TDan depicts a similar sequence of events. Israel, because of their sins, will be led into captivity, until they turn back to the Lord. Then they will receive mercy and be released from captivity and he will lead them back to his holy place (5:1-9). Thereafter a messianic hero, 'The Salvation of the Lord', will arise to them. He will effect the final deliverance by making war against Beliar. He will turn the hearts of the disobedient to the Lord, and grant eternal peace to those who call on him (5:10-11). Thereafter the New Jerusalem shall be established forever and Israel will suffer

⁵⁴ H. C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 777-8, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* II:775-828.

no more captivity, for the Lord will dwell among them and rule over them (5:12-13). God will assemble the righteous from among the nations (8:3). Although the narrator is the patriarch Dan, the events predicted should probably be taken as referring not to the Babylonian captivity, but to one future to the writer's time, as in Zech 9-14. For, like TJud 22-25, this passage was written in and for second temple times.

The sequences of events envisaged in these passages resemble the Zecharian pattern as follows.

<i>Zech</i> 9-14.	<i>Ingathering of Israel.</i>	<i>Gathering of hostile nations.</i>	<i>Death of king and Israel's exile.</i>	<i>Divine rout of nations.</i>	<i>Nations gather to Jerusalem.</i>
<i>TJud</i> 22-25.	(Ingathering from Babylon).	Siege by enemies.	<i>Bel</i> -David terminated City desolated. Exile.	The Lord will free them from captivity.	Judahite king will rule the nations.
<i>TDan</i> 5, 8.	(Ingathering from Babylon).	Implied attack by enemies.	Israel led captive for their sins.	Restoration to Jerusalem. Messianic king routs Beliar.	New Jerusalem. Israel in peace. Nations worship there.

4. The Psalms of Solomon.

The Psalms of Solomon probably date from the mid-first century BCE.⁵⁵ The author therefore lives in the period when Israel dwelt in the land, following the partial gathering after Cyrus' decree. PssSol 17 describes how the throne of David was despoiled by sinful Israelites (17:5-6), and how thereafter a lawless foreigner laid waste the land, took Jerusalem, and set up idols there (17:7, 11-15). He also scattered the righteous, who became exiles in the desert (17:16-18). These and other details indicate Pompey's invasion of 63 BC.⁵⁶ The writer looks forward to the coming of Messiah the son of David, who will destroy the foreign invaders with the word of his mouth (17:21-24). Then he will gather a holy people, the tribes made holy by God (17:26-27, 44). These are presumably the exiles in the wilderness and other righteous Jews among the ten tribes. He will distribute them in the land according to their tribes (17:28). Jerusalem will be resanctified (17:30). The nations will serve him, and will come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing the Israelites with them as gifts (17:31-34). He will rule over Israel righteously for ever, and govern the nations (17:29, 34, 43).

Other passages confirm this sequence of events. PssSol 8 tells how the leaders of Jerusalem welcomed a foreign enemy, who came and desolated the city, and killed and exiled its people (8:16-22). This is regarded as divine punishment for Jerusalem's

⁵⁵ For the dating see R. B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 640-41, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* II:639-670.

⁵⁶ So Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 641, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* II:639-670; Gray, "The Psalms of Solomon," 629-30, in Charles, *Apocrypha*, II:625-652.

multifarious sins (8:8-13, 21-22). God is requested to turn to them in mercy and ingather the dispersed of Israel (8:27-28). PssSol 11 bears the heading, *In Anticipation*, and looks forward to a joyful ingathering of Israel. A trumpet shall sound in Zion and the Israelites shall gather from distant lands (11:1-3). Israel will be exalted and glorified by the Lord for evermore (11:7-9). Likewise, PssSol 10 anticipates the time when 'the gatherings of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord' (10:8). PssSol 15 seems to look forward to the invaders' coming requital, when a flame of fire shall go out from the Lord's presence to destroy sinners (15:4-5). PssSol 18 celebrates the glories of Messiah's reign (18:6), when he will bless Israel, and all nations will be subject to his compassionate authority (18:3-5). This writer regards the coming of Messiah as at hand,⁵⁷ and therefore believes the events of his time to be end-time events. His eschatological programme compares with the Zecharian model as follows.

<i>Zech 9-14.</i>	<i>Ingathering of Israel.</i>	<i>Gathering of hostile nations.</i>	<i>Death of king and Israel's exile.</i>	<i>Divine rout of nations.</i>	<i>Nations gather to Jerusalem.</i>
<i>PssSol 17.</i>	(Ingathering from Babylon).	Foreign invasion.	Ben David despoiled. Desolation and exile.	Ben David destroys invaders by divine power; gathers exiles.	Ben David rules Israel and the nations.

5. The Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Community Rule (1QS) is regarded as one of the oldest Qumran texts, dating probably from the early first century BCE.⁵⁸ It contains the following passage alluding to a retreat into the desert. The scribe represented the tetragrammaton by four dots.

And everything that was concealed from Israel, but was discovered by the Man who Sought, do not conceal from these [community members] out of fear of the spirit of apostasy. And when these things take place in Israel at these appointed times they shall separate from amidst the habitation of ungodly men to go into the desert to prepare the way of Him; as it is written, *In the wilderness prepare the way of . . . Make straight in the desert a highway for our God* (1QS VIII.12-14).

This passage, and IX.19-20, probably alludes to the founding period of the Qumran Community.⁵⁹ The picture emerges of the members of the sect departing from Jerusalem and settling in the desert because of a catastrophe brought about by 'ungodly men'. This event was regarded as the fulfilment of something 'concealed from Israel', but foreknown to the Community. Dupont-Sommer suggests this catastrophe was the invasion of Pompey in 63 BCE.⁶⁰ Vermes, on the other hand,

⁵⁷ So Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 645, in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* II:639-670; Gray, "The Psalms of Solomon," 629, in Charles, *Apocrypha*, II:625-652.

⁵⁸ Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 71; Vermes, *Scrolls*, 61.

⁵⁹ Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 71.

⁶⁰ Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 339-57, especially 357.

maintains that the Community's origins date from a hundred years earlier, in the early Maccabaeon period.⁶¹ But whichever way, the founders of the Qumran Community appear to have left the city following a 'time of wrath' (CD I.5), and to have gone to live in the desert.⁶² They believed that this departure was in fulfilment of biblical prediction. They believed too that they lived in the latter times⁶³ and that their purpose in the desert was to *prepare the way of the Lord*. Given the general eschatological tenor of Qumran belief, and the interpretation of Isa 40:3 current among contemporaries who were probably influenced by the Qumran community (Mt 3:1-3; Mk 1:2-4; Lk 3:2-6),⁶⁴ this expression would suggest that they expected the imminent appearance of the messianic *malkut*.

The War Rule (1QM) also attests to the fact that the Community regarded their abode in the desert as a precursor to the end-time deliverance.

[The Rule of] War on the commencement of the attack of the sons of light against the company of the sons of darkness, the army of Belial: against the band of Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon, and the ar[my of . . .] the Philistines, and against the bands of the Kittim of Assyria and their allies the ungodly of the covenant. The sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, the exiles in the desert, shall battle against them in . . . all their bands when the exiled sons of light return from the desert of the peoples to camp in the desert of Jerusalem; and after the battle they shall go up from there t[o Jerusalem . . .] (1QM I.1-3).

The sectarians, the sons of light, regard themselves as dwelling in the **מדבר עמים**, *the desert of the peoples*. The phrase, which occurs in the Bible only in reference to the eschatological exile of Ezk 20:35, suggests that the writer regarded the community's desert exile as the precursor to the final deliverance. The sectarians shall

⁶¹ Vermes, *Scrolls*, 28.

⁶² Golb envisages a Jerusalem origin for the Dead Sea Scrolls and suggests that the Community's use of Isa 40:3 in 1QS 8:14 is only metaphorical and that they never actually dwelt in the desert ["Problem," 1-24]. However Brooke has recently reasserted the generally accepted view that they actually lived in the desert, arguing that Isa 40:3 was understood by the Community, and others of their time, both metaphorically and literally [Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3," 132].

⁶³ The eschatological consciousness of the Qumran Community has been widely recognized. See, for instance, Steudel, ["**אחרית הימים**", 231], who notes that the Community regarded themselves as living in the **אחרית הימים**, a phrase designating, in the Qumran literature, "the final period of history."

⁶⁴ A number of commentators [Allegro, *Scrolls*, 163-5; Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 32-48; Betz and Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran*, 145] consider that John the Baptist originally came from an Essene background. Certainly his residence in the desert, his priestly descent, his expectation of an imminent messianic appearance, his poverty and asceticism, his diet, and his emphasis on repentance followed by baptism, may suggest that he was linked with the Community. On the other hand, his un-Essenic association with the common people would probably require that at least his formal links with the Community had been severed by the time he began the work attributed to him in the gospels. But whatever form his links with the Community took, it would be most unlikely, given his residence in the Judean desert, that he was uninfluenced by their teachings and biblical interpretation.

return from the desert of the peoples to the desert of Jerusalem, and after the battle ascend (עלה) to celebrate the inauguration of the messianic *malkut*. Their ascent is to Jerusalem, as can be seen not only from the general geography of I:3, but also from III.11 and XII.13-14. The battle itself, and the deliverance, apparently takes place in the 'desert of Jerusalem'. Thus the very opening words of this document are a classical statement of the Old Testament picture of the ingathering to war and the ascent to worship in its aftermath. Nothing is mentioned of the period prior to the departure from the Desert of the Peoples. However the earlier invasion of Jerusalem, mentioned in CD and 1QS, is alluded to in the description of the enemy as those who oppress Israel in their land, and are in possession of Jerusalem (X.7; XII.14).

The scenario presented in 1QM is uncompromisingly supernatural and eschatological. The enemies are the hosts of Belial (I:1), or elsewhere Gog and his assembly gathered about him (XI:16). Their alliance includes Edom, Moab, and Ammon (I:1), the aggressors in Jehoshaphat's battle (2 Chr 20), which was already regarded as typological of ultimate war in biblical times (Joel 4:2 [3:2]; cf. 3:1ff [2:28ff]), and the aggressors also in the eschatological war psalm, Ps 83, in which they form an alliance with Philistia and Assyria, also mentioned here (I:2).⁶⁵ The other nations mentioned in Ps 83 may have occurred in the break in the text before 'the Philistines'. This is the conflict which has been predicted and appointed from ancient times (I.10; XI.11; XIII.14), and is עַת צָרָה for Israel (XV.1). The sons of light are to be joined in the battle by the Holy Ones and angels and gods (XII.4; XV.14). The messianic figure of 'The Prince of the Congregation' is present in the conflict, probably as leader (V.1). Other superheros are mentioned: the Great Angel of the kingdom of Michael, who is to bring eternal succour in the war (XVII.6), and the Prince of Light (XIII.10) who also appears in CD V.18 and 1QS III.20. With them the elect of heaven will fight in the battle, and possibly also the risen dead.⁶⁶ God himself will fight with them from heaven (XI.17). The result of the war is the total destruction of the attacking nations (XIV.5), and thereafter the authority of Michael will be raised up in the midst of the

⁶⁵ The *Kittim* invariably designates the Romans in 1QM, if not in all the Qumran literature [Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 166-9]. The *Kittim* of Assyria therefore designates the Roman forces of Syria. (Pompey annexed Syria in 64 BCE.)

⁶⁶ The phrase קָמִי אֶרֶץ is as likely to signify the *risen of the earth* (as Vermes renders it in his translation of Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 187) as *the rebels of the earth* (as Vermes renders it elsewhere [Scrolls, 117]) or *die Gegner des Landes* (Lohse, *Texte*, 207). However the parallelism of the passage would seem to support the former translation: *the risen of the earth in the multiplicity of your judgments // with the elect of heaven in [your] blessing[s]*. That the Qumran sectarians may have held that the dead would rise at this time, is supported by 4Q174.2, which cites Dan 12:10 whose context refers explicitly to the resurrection (12:2).

gods, and the dominion of Israel will be over all flesh (XVII.7-8). The riches of the nations will be brought into Jerusalem and the kings of the nations will serve her (XII.13-15; XIX.5-6).

The Damascus Rule (CD) provides perhaps the clearest schema to show how the Community understood their place in the scheme of end-time events. It begins by relating the origins of the community in a time of social upheaval, when power in Jerusalem has been usurped by the wicked (A I.13-II.1), the land has been desolated and the temple defiled (V.20-21; BII.23⁶⁷).

Because of their unfaithfulness with which they forsook him, he hid his face from Israel and its Sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the covenant of the patriarchs, he left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver them to destruction. And in the time of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after he had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, he visited them, and caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to possess his land and to grow fat on the bounty of his earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way. And God observed their deeds, that they sought him with a whole heart, and he raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart (I:5-11).

There has been much speculation concerning the Teacher of Righteousness, or מורה צדק,⁶⁸ but a few facts about him seem to be clear in the Qumran corpus. He was a Zadokite priest whose death was particularly significant to the Community (B.II:14). 1QpHab 11.2-8 suggests that he was remorselessly persecuted by the Jerusalem priesthood, who attacked him in his exile on the Day of Atonement, and may have killed him.⁶⁹ Whether, and in what sense, the Teacher was regarded as a messianic figure is hard to say.⁷⁰ But a number of points suggest that the sectarians may have associated him with the stricken shepherd of Zech 11 and 13.

⁶⁷ The Cairo Genizah MS B is placed after col. VIII by Vermes [*Scrolls*, 90-91]. Lohse gives the different MSS in order, with BII last [*Texte*, 104-7].

⁶⁸ The name seems to have been derived from Hos 10:12.

⁶⁹ 1QpHab 11.5, with the verb בלע, might be read as *swallow him*, or *confuse him*, or, by analogy with 2 Sam 20:19-20 where the same verb occurs in parallel with השחית, *kill him*. But on the basis of the *peshet* on Ps 37 [4Q171, cols. iii 14-16; iv 7-10; Vermes, *Scrolls*, 291-2] a number of scholars accept that the Teacher died a violent death, possibly at the instigation of his enemy, the Wicked Priest [Allegro, *Scrolls*, 98ff; "Further Light," 89ff; Rowley, *Zadokite Fragments*, 62ff; Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 358-367; Stauffer, "Der gekreuzigte", 250-3; *Jerusalem und Rom*, 128-32; Goossens, "Onias le Juste," 336-53; Michel, *Le maître de justice*, 271; O'Neill, "The Man," 97-8]. Note too that the apparent identification of the Teacher with the stricken shepherd of Zech 13:7, whose death precipitates the eschatological exile, suggests that he died a violent death.

⁷⁰ That the 'Teacher of Righteousness' is a messianic figure has been argued in various forms by P. R. Davies [*Damascus Covenant*, 119-25; 'Teacher of Righteousness,' 313-17] and J. Murphy-O'Connor, ["Damascus Document," 239-44]. On the other hand, M. Knibb thinks the identification is unconvincing, although he does recognize that the יורה הצדק of CD A.VI.10,11 is a messianic figure ["Teacher of Righteousness," 60, 58].

(1) Zech 13:7, *Awake, sword, against my shepherd, against my companion*, is cited at CD B.I.7-9. Rabin and van der Woude understand the citation to refer to the Teacher.⁷¹ Two considerations support this. First, the following words describe those who heed the shepherd as *the poor of the flock* (Zech 11:11) who will be saved at the time of Visitation (B.I.10). The *poor of the flock* appears to refer to the Community itself,⁷² and it is therefore their shepherd (leader) who is struck. Second, the shepherd's designation as Yhwh's *companion* (גִּבּוֹר עֲמִיתִי) would be appropriate only to one, such as the Teacher, whom the writer considered a divinely appointed leader. It is unlikely to refer to the leader of the community's enemies or the hellenizing Jerusalem aristocracy,⁷³ or any others outside *the poor of the flock* (non-members of the Community). Even though the non-Community members will be struck by the sword, this will happen at the time of the Visitation, when the Community members will be saved (B.I.10).

(2) Like the Zecharian figure, his death was regarded as an epoch-making event in the schema of redemption, which was to be followed by a desert exile. B.II.14-20 describes how a period of forty years, a second Exodus, was to elapse from his death until the divine redemption, a period which was to be a time of wrath for Israel (B.II.13-17). In regard to this period Hos 3:14 is cited, a passage which occurs in the context of Hosea's future desert exile (Hos 2:14[16]).

(3) Indeed, if the hymns of 1QH, or some of them, are by the Teacher, as a number of scholars allow,⁷⁴ then the Teacher may have regarded himself as the stricken figure of Isa 53 or Zech 11-13, or both. For the speaker of the hymns repeatedly refers to himself in language borrowed from the Isaianic servant songs,⁷⁵ and the Zecharian figure, as we noted earlier, is described in language apparently borrowed from the same source.⁷⁶

(4) There may have been an expectation, following the Teacher's death, that he, or one like him, would reappear at the end of the age (A.VI.10,11).⁷⁷ If this is so, the anticipated Teacher *redivivus* should possibly be identified with the Messiah of Aaron, whom the Community expected to participate in the eschatological banquet, or with the Interpreter of the Law,⁷⁸ whose appearance was also anticipated at the end-time, or with both of these figures.⁷⁹

But whether or not the Teacher was in any sense a messianic figure who died a violent death, he was nonetheless a venerated religious leader, to whom many looked for the

⁷¹ Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 31; Woude, "Messianischen Vorstellungen," 38-39.

⁷² Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 138n.

⁷³ Pace Betz, *Offenbarung*, 178-9; Rabinowitz, "Reconsideration," 27-28.

⁷⁴ Bruce, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 95; Vermes, *Scrolls*, 32; Fitzmyer, *Responses*, 56.

⁷⁵ Many of these borrowings are noted by Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 361-5.

⁷⁶ See the discussion of the dependence of the Zecharian figure on the servant songs earlier in this chapter.

⁷⁷ עַד עֵמֶד יוֹרֵה הַצֶּדֶק בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים. The phrase יוֹרֵה הַצֶּדֶק seems to indicate a messianic figure who is to appear in the end-time [Knibb,]. This is, of course, not the standard phrase used for the Teacher; that is מוֹרֵה צֶדֶק (cf. eg. CD A.I.11). Some commentators regard יוֹרֵה צֶדֶק as a reference to the Teacher of Righteousness *redivivus* [Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 131], others translate it so as to avoid any such implication [eg. Vermes, *Scrolls*, 87]. Neither position can be conclusively established. But the writer would probably have been aware of the ambiguity of the former expression. That he did not avoid may suggest that he expected the reappearance of the Teacher or one like him. Note that even biblical literature indicates the reappearance of a departed hero of faith, Elijah, at the end-time (Mal 3:23[4:5]). Moreover, some later Jewish traditions identify Elijah with the Priest Messiah (Moore, *Judaism*, II:358n; cf. PRE 66b; SefZ 36), the messianic figure with whom the Teacher is most likely to have been identified (see below).

⁷⁸ Allegro has suggested that the Teacher of Righteousness is to be identified with the Interpreter of the Law ["Further Light," 175-6].

⁷⁹ Bruce [*Scrolls*, 97] has little hesitation in equating the anticipated יוֹרֵה הַצֶּדֶק of CD A.VI.11 with the Messiah Priest and the Interpreter of the Law, but says of this eschatological figure that 'there is nothing to warrant the statement that he would be the earlier Teacher of Righteousness, risen from the dead.'

restoration of Israel, and whose death was regarded by the Community as a key occurrence in the events leading to the end-time redemption (CD B.II.14-20). He apparently led his followers into exile from Jerusalem to Damascus (VI.3-5; VII.15; BII.22), possibly a symbolical name for Qumran.⁸⁰ There they entered a New Covenant with one another to walk according to the Law (VI.19; VIII.21; BII.12), and anticipated retaking the land of Israel (VIII.14-18; BII.34). This was expected to happen forty years after the Teacher's death (BII.13-15). Two messianic figures are mentioned as appearing at the time of the redemption (VII.18-19). The first is the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus and, presumably, lead them back to Israel.⁸¹ The second is the Prince of the Congregation who shall smite their enemies.⁸² They shall return to the land, and 'prevail over all the sons of the earth' (BII.34). This may equal the move, referred to in 1QM I.3, from the Desert of the Peoples to the Desert of Jerusalem. At that time they will see the salvation of God (BII.34), a term encompassing victorious battle, the establishment of the messianic *malikut*, and possibly also the messianic deliverer(s), as at TDan 5.10-11.

1QSa, a manuscript dating from the mid-first century BCE, is 'a Rule for a Community adapted to the requirements of the Messianic war against the nations,' and foreshadows the War Rule (1QM) in its precepts and doctrines.⁸³ Its opening words suggest that the Community members regarded themselves as the guardians of the Zadokite priesthood, and anticipated a time when others, the 'Congregation of Israel', would gather to them in the last days: 'And this is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days, when they shall gather (אסף) [to the Community to walk according to the law of the sons of Zadok, the Priests.'⁸⁴ This is in preparation for the 'war of the vanquishing of the nations' (1QSa I.21). There follows a description of a messianic banquet in the time when the messiah will have been born, or will have descended, to them.⁸⁵ Two messiahs are present, a Priest-

⁸⁰ Vermes, *Scrolls*, 32.

⁸¹ That the Interpreter of the Law is a messianic figure is recognized by Vermes, *Scrolls*, 83. It is suggested also by the citation of the classic messianic text Num 24:17 regarding him (VII.19-20).

⁸² The whole question of messianism at Qumran is complicated further by the so-called 'Pierced Nasi' text (4Q285), which some suggest may describe the piercing of the Prince of the Congregation, identified with the Branch of David [Eisenmann & Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24-29]. Others, however, oppose such an interpretation, maintaining that the Branch of David pierces the Prince of the Congregation, who is the leader of the foreign invasion ["Oxford Forum," 85-94.]. Even taking into account all considerations of word-order and context, it seems that the available Hebrew text can be interpreted either way.

⁸³ So Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 100.

⁸⁴ וזה הסרך לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים בה[א]ספם (1:1).

⁸⁵ The text's ד[.] can be read as either יוליד or יורד.

Messiah and a Messiah of Israel. 1QSb contains a blessing upon 'The Prince of the Congregation', a non-priestly messianic figure, mentioned in CD VII.20 and 1QM V.1. He is described in terms of the Isaianic oracle concerning the shoot from Jesse (Isa 11:1-5) at V.24-26, and resembles the Davidic Messiah of PssSol 17:23-51 and 18:6-14. He shall devastate the earth, smiting it by the breath of his lips; he shall rule all nations, and all peoples shall serve him (V.24-28). He is possibly to be equated with the Messiah of Israel of 1QSa.⁸⁶

4Q174 (Florilegium) anticipates the conflict at the end of days, citing Ps 2:1 (I.18ff.). It refers to a Branch of David, that is, a Davidic Messiah, who will arise to save Israel and sit on the throne of Zion at the end of days (I.11-13), when the Temple will be rebuilt (I.1-7). The 'Apostrophe to Zion' in 11QPs^a XXII.1-15, describes the latterday prosperity and blessedness of Zion.⁸⁷ This is to take place after all Zion's enemies are cut off round about, and her foes are scattered (XXII.13).

Thus the Dead Sea Scrolls seem to present a sequence of ingatherings similar to other literature of the period, although they appear to display a particular interest in the eschatological conflict and its aftermath. This was apparently because they thought their self-imposed exile to be the one predicted at Zech 13:7-14:2, Ezk 20:34-38, and possibly Hos 2:16[14], and therefore regarded themselves as living in the later stages of the Zecharian programme. The historical facts of the Babylonian return and the Community's departure from Jerusalem after its seizure by foreign or foreign-influenced usurpers may be assumed as the background even to those texts which do not directly refer to them. The sequence of events presented by these texts therefore compares with the Zecharian model as follows.

Zech 9-14.	Ingathering of Israel.	Gathering of hostile nations.	Death of king and Israel's exile.	Divine rout of nations.	Nations gather to Jerusalem.
1QS.	(Babylonian return.)	Take-over by alien-influenced forces.	Departure to desert.	Anticipated messianic <i>malkut</i> . Consequent dominion and glory for Israel.	
1QM	(Babylonian return.)	Take-over by alien-influenced forces.	Residence in מִדְבָּר עַמִּים.	To Jerusalem desert; war against nations.	Dominion and glory for Israel.
CD.	Babylonian return.	Take-over by alien-influenced forces.	Death of Teacher. 40 year exile.	Return to Jerusalem.	Salvation of God.
1QSa/b	(Babylonian return.)	(Take-over by alien-influenced forces.)	(Residence in desert.)	Israel gathers for war against the nations.	Messianic <i>malkut</i> .
4Q174 (Flor)	(Babylonian return.)	(Take-over by alien-influenced forces.)	(Residence in desert.)	Conflict and victory.	Davidic <i>malkut</i> ; new Temple.
Apos. Zion.	(Babylonian return.)	(Take-over by alien-influenced forces.)	(Residence in desert.)	Destruction of Zion's surrounding enemies.	Zion blessed.

⁸⁶ Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*, 112n.

⁸⁷ The text with translation is in Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 124-127.

6. The New Testament.

The synoptic gospels, like the NT generally, differ from other Second Temple period literature in regarding the next stage of Israel's history, from their historical standpoint, to be not an ingathering, but another desolation and scattering in the aftermath of war, with no hope of divine deliverance (Mt 21:33-45; 23:38; 24:2; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 13:35; 19:41-44; 20:9-19; 21:20-24). The reason given for this is that Israel were unwilling to gather to Jesus (Mt 23:37; Lk 13:34; 21:24), but rejected him (Mt 21:37-41; Mk 12:6-9; Lk 19:41-44; 20:13-16; 23:27-31). At the time of this attack, the Israelites will be slain and taken into exile as prisoners, and Jerusalem will be 'trampled' by the nations until the appointed period of the nations is fulfilled (ἄχρι οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν; Lk 21:24). The latter phrase seems to suggest that the foreign domination is to last for a divinely ordained period and thereafter be revoked, after which, presumably, the exile will end, and Israel will gather to repossess Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Such an interpretation seems to be confirmed by the parable about the budding of the fig tree, which occurs close by in the same narrative, after a brief description of other end-time events (Lk 21:29). The fig tree was established as a metaphor for Israel by Jer 24, and is employed as such in Lk 13:6-9, apparently to indicate the impending destruction on the unrepentant nation (cf. Lk 13:1-9).⁸⁹ So, if the fig tree represents Israel, the parable seems to suggest that their future budding and flourishing, that is, their national restoration, will indicate the coming of the end. This period will also see the appearance of Messiah from heaven (Lk 21:27-36; cf. Mt 24:30-37; Mk 13:26-35). In keeping with the distinctive pan-national theology of the NT, he will gather the righteous elect of all nations (Mt 13:30; 22:8-10; 24:30-31; Mk 13:26-27).⁹⁰ They live thereafter in his *malkut*, and feast in the messianic banquet (Mt 8:11-12; Lk 13:29). Jerusalem's immediate destruction is to be brought about by armies (Lk 21:20) and the Temple is to be desecrated by the *abomination of desolation* in the Holy Place (Mt 24:15), apparently a future event similar in kind to

⁸⁸ See Tiede, "Weeping," 89; Chance, *Jerusalem*, 133-4.

⁸⁹ Telford [*Barren Temple*; "More Fruit," 264-6] notes that the cursed fig-tree represents the Temple and the cultus also in the Markan parallel (Mk 11:12-14, 20ff).

⁹⁰ Note how the distinctive OT ingathering imagery, discussed in chapter VI.vi, reoccurs in the NT. Harvest imagery, both threshing and gathering, is employed for judgment and redemption (Mt 3:12; 9:37; 13:30, 40-43; Lk 3:17). But unrighteous Israelites are among those to be threshed (Mt 3:12; Lk 3:17), while righteous Samaritans are to be harvested (Jn 4:35). Such ideas are not without OT precedent, as in the eschatological hymn Ps 67 (cf. v. 7[6]). Pastoral imagery also occurs. Faithful Israelites are a flock (eg. Lk 12:32), as are believing Gentiles (Jn 10:16); but some Israelites are shepherdless sheep (Mt 9:36).

Antiochus Epiphanes' profanation of the Temple.⁹¹ However the synoptics make no specific mention of hostile forces at Messiah's return.

A similar prediction of desolation, exile, and eventual restoration may be contained in Jn 2:19. Although the evangelist interprets the logion as referring to Jesus' body (v.21), that does not preclude its referring also, even primarily, to the destruction and rebuilding of the Temple, particularly given its setting in the Temple courts.⁹² Such a prediction would be quite in keeping with the prophetic climate of the time.⁹³ In that case Jn 2:19 seems to indicate a belief that the Temple, and implicitly the entire national life of Israel, is to be destroyed and, after a specified time, restored. The intervening period between destruction and restoration is presumably one of national subjugation and exile. The rebuilding of the Temple will take place *in three days*, an expression which, as it cannot be taken literally, should probably be regarded as symbolic of longer periods of time.⁹⁴

The Epistle to the Hebrews appears to envisage a similar sequence of events. The writer, in common with the rest of the NT, believes that Messiah has died and ascended to heaven (cf. eg. 1:3; 2:9). He addresses Second Temple period⁹⁵ Israelite Christians whose faith in Jesus's messiahship is wavering (3:14), and reminds them of the fate of their unbelieving ancestors – their bodies fell in the desert (3:7-17). He warns them, 'See to it, brothers, that none of you has a sinful and unbelieving heart' (3:12), and implies that, if they have, they will suffer the same fate as their ancestors.

⁹¹ The phrase, βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, is from the Greek of Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11, which most commentators regard as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes' profanation of the Temple in 167 BCE [Lacocque, *Daniel*, 148; Davies, *Daniel*, 57-62; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 267-8].

⁹² Bultmann regards the original source of Jn 2:19-21 as a prediction of the Temple's destruction to which references to Jesus' body have been added subsequently [John, 126].

⁹³ Josephus speaks of prophetic warnings against Jerusalem in the period before the destruction [*War*, VI.v.3-4]. See also yYoma 43c. Bultmann notes: 'The *age* and perhaps also the *originality* of the saying are confirmed by its intelligibility within the context of the apocalyptic prophecies of Judaism. Just as the destruction of the temple had already been prophesied in Mic 3.12, Jer 26.(33) 6, 18, so it seems that similar voices were heard in Jesus' age . . . ' [Bultmann, *John*, 126n; Bultmann's italics]. O'Neill argues that 5 Ezra (2 Esdras) 1:33 is a Jewish writing of Temple times predicting the destruction of the Temple ["Desolate House," 226-235].

⁹⁴ As far as I am aware, ancient tradition, both Jewish and Christian, recognizes only one metaphorical referent for the expression 'one day,' that is, one thousand years, which is equal to the day of God. The idea was known in OT times, either arising from Ps 90:4 or already known to the psalm writer. It is referred to in 2 Pet 3:8; Ep. Barn. 15; Justin Martyr, *Trypho*, 81; Irenaeus, *adv. Hær*, V:28.3, NumR 14:12 and alluded to in traditions regarding the week of creation as lasting 7 000 years (2 Enoch 33:1f; bAZ 9a; bSanh 97a), Adam dying within 1 000 years according to Gen 2:17 (Jubilees 4:30; GenR 19:8; NumR 14:12; PRE 22b), Daniel's four kingdoms lasting one day (PRE 33b), and an hour of God as lasting 84 or 83½ years, that is, one-twelfth of a thousand (PRE 8b; 67b).

⁹⁵ See Heb 7:23-28; 8:3-5; 10:1-4, 11, all of which presuppose ongoing Temple worship.

(4:1-11). Thus, like the synoptic writers, this writer seems to believe that Israel's rejection of Jesus would result in their exile. Indeed, his tacit assumption of the fact in writing to unconvinced Christians suggests that it was not a specifically Christian belief. Probably his contemporaries outside the Christian community were also aware of a tradition that Messiah's death would be followed by exile. As regards the rest of his eschatological programme, the writer ultimately anticipates a second appearance of Messiah, this time from heaven (9:28; 10:37), the subjugation of Messiah's enemies (10:13), and the inauguration of an unshakeable *malkut* (12:28).

The book of Revelation anticipates two attacks against Jerusalem in the distant future. The first attack is by ten confederated kings (Rev 17:12-14) who are gathered to the land of Israel by demonic agents (16:14-16⁹⁶; 14:14-20). Then Messiah, who has previously died (1:18; 5:6), appears with the armies of heaven and kills the invaders with the sword of his mouth (19:11-21). After this Messiah reigns 1000 years together with the resurrected righteous (19:21-20:7). At the end of that time Jerusalem will again be surrounded by enemies. These are Gog and Magog, deceived and gathered by Satan, with nations from the four corners of the earth. They will be destroyed by fire from heaven (20:7-9). Then earth's kings will bring tribute to Jerusalem (21:24-26). Israel's exile is not mentioned, but should probably be assumed before the first attack. For the book was probably written after the destruction of 70 CE, and therefore sees the exile as a historical fact which is to end in Israel's ingathering before the first future attack on Jerusalem. And, second, the first attack is to be met by the appearance of the heavenly deliverer, which would make it parallel to the deliverance following the exile in the synoptics.

2 Thess 2:1-10 refers to a rebellion and to the revelation of a man of lawlessness who will proclaim himself God in the Jerusalem temple, and be destroyed by the breath of Jesus's mouth at his coming. Destruction by the breath of Messiah descending from heaven suggests this event is parallel to the first attack of the nations in Revelation 14-19, in which the allied kings meet a similar fate. How the lawless one's self-apotheosis in the Temple is to be reconciled with events in the synoptics and Revelation depends on its date of writing and its writer's awareness of predictions about a coming destruction of Jerusalem. If it was written after the destruction of 70 CE, then the writer presumably expects a future rebuilding of the Temple to precede

⁹⁶ Ἀρμαγεδών seems to represent (the hill of ?) Megiddo. This was a site of war in Judg 5:19; 2Ki 23:29-30. The death of Josiah in the latter passage was regarded as typological of future events by the writer of Zech 12:11.

the apotheosis of the lawless one (2 Thess 2:4). But, if it was written before the destruction,⁹⁷ it is still plausible that he expected a future destruction and rebuilding to precede the lawless one's appearance. For a coming destruction and exile of Jerusalem was among the earliest of Christian traditions.⁹⁸ Synoptic references to the event are numerous and often attributed to Jesus.⁹⁹ They are also of an ingenuous and artless nature, appearing in parable (Mt 21:33-45; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19) and even in a garbled form at Jesus's trial (Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58), which suggests that they are not inventions of post-70 CE. Our writer is therefore likely to have been aware of predictions about a coming desolation. Yet he could hardly have imagined the lawless one's apotheosis as taking place at the imminent invasion. For the invader is to be destroyed by Messiah at his appearing, and it is unlikely that the writer envisaged the Temple being destroyed after the appearance of the heavenly deliverer. Therefore he presumably anticipated (or had seen) a destruction and exile, but expected it to end with the rebuilding of the Temple and the apotheosis of the lawless one.

In trying to identify an eschatological programme implicit in the NT, I am not, of course, suggesting that its writers had identical beliefs about every aspect of eschatology. But, if a programme similar to the Zecharian one dominated eschatological thinking of the time, then we might expect individual NT books to be in broad agreement with it. The eschatological ideas of the NT writers seem to compare with the Zecharian model as follows.

⁹⁷ Many commentators, perhaps the majority, accept 2 Thessalonians as genuinely Pauline and hence, pre-70 CE. For a discussion of viewpoints on dating and provenance see Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, xxxiv-xlvi.

⁹⁸ This, as noted above, is the view of Bultmann, for instance, who regards 2:19 as an ancient Christian prophecy of the Temple's destruction, to which other material has subsequently been added [*John*, 126n].

⁹⁹ Mt 21:33-45; 23:38; 24:2; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 13:35; 19:41-44; 20:9-19; 21:20-24. Acts 6:13-14 represents the impending destruction of Jerusalem as part of earliest Christian belief with its origin in the teaching of Jesus.

Chapter VII: A Time of Trouble for Israel.

<i>Zech 9-14.</i>	<i>Gathering of Israel.</i>	<i>Gathering of hostile nations.</i>	<i>Death of king and Israel's exile.</i>	<i>Divine rout of nations.</i>	<i>Nations gather to Jerusalem.</i>
<i>Synop-tics.</i>	(Babylonian return.)	(Roman invasion.)	Death of Messiah. Roman destruction and exile.	Israel gathered; Temple rebuilt. Abomination of desolation. Messiah comes from heaven.	Many from east and west at messianic banquet.
<i>Jn 2:19</i>	(Babylonian return.)	(Roman invasion.)	Destruction of Temple. (Exile.)	Restoration.	
<i>Hebrews</i>	(Babylonian return.)	(Roman invasion.)	Messiah dies. Desert exile for his rejecters.	Messiah comes from heaven. His enemies are subdued.	<i>Malkut.</i>
<i>2 Thess</i>	(Babylonian return.)	(Roman invasion.)	(Messiah dies. Exile.)	Temple rebuilt. Lawless one comes. Destroyed at coming of Messiah.	(<i>Malkut.</i>)
<i>Rev.</i>	(Babylonian return.)	(Roman invasion.)	Messiah dies. (Israel exiled.)	(Israel gathered). Ten kings attack. Messiah appears from heaven and destroys them.	1000 year <i>malkut</i> . Gog and Magog attack and are destroyed. Kings bring tribute.

7. Apocalyptic Midrashim of Post-Temple Times.

The destruction of the Second Temple did not destroy Israel's messianic hope. Eschatological texts, such as the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and 4Ezra, were redacted in subsequent decades. Fifty years later, Bar Kokhba's revolt commanded considerable support. It may plausibly be surmised that his contemporaries, some of whom regarded him as Messiah,¹⁰⁰ considered the years from the destruction of the Temple as the pre-deliverance exile predicted by Zech 13-14. The event, however, proved otherwise, and the crushing of Bar Kokhba's uprising seems to have led to a temporary loss of faith in any eschatological hope among many Jews, as evidenced by the non-eschatological character of the Mishnah. However, the eschatological hope was dormant rather than dead, and reappeared after the mishnaic period in a genre of apocalyptic midrash, featuring eschatological programmes similar to Zech 9-14.¹⁰¹

In the early midrash *Aggadat Mashiah* Israel gather in Galilee under Messiah ben Joseph, ascend to Jerusalem, and subjugate the surrounding lands. Then they are attacked by Gog and Magog, and defeated. Messiah is slain, and Israel are scattered in the wilderness. Messiah ben David appears to them, and they plunder Rome and

¹⁰⁰ R. Akiva apparently maintained that Bar Kokhba was Messiah (yTa'an 4:8; LamR 2.2.4). This claim may have been made by Bar Kokhba himself, for bSanh 93b says he was slain because he falsely claimed to be Messiah.

¹⁰¹ Translations of six of these, together with a discussion of their dating, are given in Appendix I: *Aggadat Mashiah* (AgM), *Otot ha-Mashiah* (OtotM), *Sefer Zerubbabel* (SefZ), *Pirqê Mashiah* (PirM), *Asereth Melakhim* (AsM), and *Nistarot Rav Shim'on ben Yohai* (NRSbY). Similar midrashic material occurs in Sa'adya Gaon's *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII (trans. Rosenblatt, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 290-322). Rosenblatt dates it from 933 CE (xxvii).

ascend to Jerusalem, displacing the invaders. Thereafter the remainder of exiled Israel gather to Jerusalem. We should note that, in spite of the statement that 'all Israel' will gather at first, this does not include the 'exiles', possibly the lost ten tribes, who are gathered later, and therefore the initial ingathering is partial.

In *Otot ha-Mashiah* Messiah ben Joseph conquers Edom (Rome) and goes to Jerusalem. Israel gather to him, and they subjugate all the surrounding nations (6:7-8). Then Armilus gathers forces to the valley Jehoshaphat (Joel 4:14). In the ensuing battle, Messiah ben Joseph is slain (7:12-13). Israel flee into the desert for 45 days, where they are purified (7:14-25). Then Messiah ben David appears, the Israelites gather to him, and they ascend to Jerusalem (8:2-4). Armilus again gathers to make war against Jerusalem, but the Holy One fights on behalf of ben David, and destroys them (8:4-6). Then the scattered remnant of Israel are carried to Jerusalem on the shoulders of kings (9:1-2), and the ten tribes come from Trans-Euphrates (10:1), suggesting that the earlier gatherings are partial, in spite of 8:3-4.

In *Sefer Zerubbabel* Messiah ben Joseph gathers all Israel 'as one man' (40) and they live in Jerusalem forty years. They are attacked by the Persians, but overcome them. Then Armilus attacks Jerusalem with ten kings. Ben Joseph is slain and Israel are exiled in the wilderness (43). Then, after other events, the dead of Israel are raised and, presumably, return to Jerusalem. Then the Lord and Messiah ben David come and kill Armilus and his troops. Jerusalem is again restored and God's *malkut* is inaugurated (64).

In *'Asereth Melakhim* Messiah ben Joseph ascends to Jerusalem, builds the Temple, and offers sacrifices. A gathering of Israelites with him is not mentioned, nor is the conquest of the heathen inhabitants of Jerusalem, but both should probably be inferred, as he would hardly rebuild the temple alone in a deserted Jerusalem. Then Israel are attacked by Gog, who kills ben Joseph. Three-quarters of the Israelites go into exile and one quarter remain in the city. The Holy One then fights the invaders and defeats them. He blows on a great *shofar* and gathers the exiles, including the nine and a half tribes. Then Messiah ben David rules for a thousand years.

In *Pirqê Mashiah* King Nehemiah the Messiah, a pseudonym for Messiah ben Joseph,¹⁰² leads Israel. They conquer Rome and go up to Jerusalem. There, in warfare

¹⁰² Messiah ben Joseph is called Nehemiah ben Hoshiel at OM 6:5; 7:11ff and SefZ 44.

with the city's Arab overlords, Messiah is killed. Israel is exiled to the wilderness. There the King Messiah, that is, ben David, appears to them and incites all the nations to war with him. When they attack he slays them with the breath of his mouth.

In *Nistarot Rav Shim'on ben Yohai* Messiah ben Joseph ascends with Israel to Jerusalem. There they build the Temple and offer sacrifices. Military success is implied not only in their taking the city, but also in the quote from Dan 11:4 (NRS 21). Armilus attacks them. In the conflict Messiah ben Joseph is slain, and then Israel are exiled in the wilderness (24-25). After other events, Messiah ben David appears with the clouds of heaven (27). He kills Armilus with the breath of his lips and takes dominion (28). Then all Israel gather and go up to Jerusalem (29).

Sa'adya has Messiah ben Joseph gather individual Israelites in Galilee, and go up with them to Jerusalem. There they will be attacked by Armilus and in the conflict ben Joseph will be killed. Then Israel will be driven into the wilderness.¹⁰³ Messiah ben David will appear to them suddenly, kill the usurpers of Jerusalem, resettle and rebuild the city, and rule there, with Israel in prosperity.¹⁰⁴ Then Gog and Magog shall gather an army from sundry nations to attack him, but they shall be destroyed by divine intervention, and the survivors will submit to Israel and do menial service.¹⁰⁵ Messiah ben David will command that all nations make annual pilgrimage to the Feast of Sukkoth in Jerusalem, as in Zech 14, and those Israelites still remaining among the nations will be borne to Jerusalem, along with the wealth of all the nations.¹⁰⁶

There is therefore a marked similarity in these midrashim. All anticipate a future gathering of Israel under a messianic king. This initial ingathering consists principally of Josephites or Ephraimites, a fact sometimes stated explicitly,¹⁰⁷ and elsewhere implied in the Josephite descent of their leader. This is followed by an attack on

¹⁰³ *Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.v. (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 301-2).

¹⁰⁴ *Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.vi. (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 304-5).

¹⁰⁵ *Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.vi. (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 304-7). Sa'adya seems to be aware of a tradition similar to that in Rev 19:19 and 20:7-9, discussed above, in which Gog and Magog attack after the establishment of the Davidic *malkut*. Thus both these writers envisage three foreign invasions: one in which a Messiah dies, one in which a Davidic messiah triumphs, and a final one in which a Davidic Messiah finally crushes all opposition. Note too that MidTeh 118 §12 and 119 §2 state that Gog and Magog will go up against Jerusalem three times. Possibly the variant traditions arose as a result of (1) divergent opinions as to how the programmes of Ezekiel and Zechariah should be harmonised and (2) lack of clarity about the number of attacks in the Zecharian programme.

¹⁰⁶ *Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.vi. (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 307-12).

¹⁰⁷ AgM 13; Otot 8:6; Sa'adya VIII.v (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 302). See also BB 123b; GenR 73.7; 75.5-6; 97 (NV in Soncino edn.); 99.2.

Jerusalem by a foreign alliance, who slay the Messiah and devastate the city. Israel are then driven into exile in the wilderness.¹⁰⁸ Later they return to Jerusalem, where the nations are routed by divine power, either directly, or by the mediation of Messiah ben David. The *malkut* of ben David is then inaugurated and the remainder of Israel scattered in the world, particularly the ten tribes, gather to Jerusalem. The similarity of these motifs to the Zecharian model should be noticeable.

<i>Zech 9-14.</i>	Ingathering of Israel.	Gathering of hostile nations.	Death of king and Israel's exile.	Divine rout of nations.	Nations gather to Jerusalem.
<i>Aggadat M</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Otot ha-M.</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Sefer Zer.</i>	*	*	*	*	
<i>'Asereth M</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Pirqê M.</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Nistarot.</i>	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Sa'adya.</i>	*	*	*	*	*

8. Summary.

Post-Zecharian apocalyptic programmes seem to display eschatological programmes similar to that of Zech 9-14, and regularly refer to these chapters. This suggests that the programme which we identified in Zech 9-14 was also recognized by early interpreters, and is not simply a product of our own reading. Whether these interpreters derived it directly from Zechariah or from similar traditions now lost cannot be ascertained. But certainly, as the Zecharian programme is without parallel in the Bible for scale, scope, and detail, it would seem to be the likeliest origin for these beliefs. It is plausible to suggest that such an eschatological programme could have been known to the redactor(s) of the Psalter and may have influenced the shaping of their collection. Assuming tentatively that this is the case, we shall try, in the following chapters, to identify the latterday desert exile and messianic motifs in the Psalter.

¹⁰⁸ The midrash writers apparently had no doubt of this theme being biblical in origin. OM 7:19 and NRSbY 24 cite Zech 13:8-9; AsM 4:14 and Sa'adya VIII.v (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 302) cite Zech 14:2; OM 7:20 and Sa'adya VIII.v (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 303) cite Ezk 20:34-38; OM 7:20 also cites Dan 12:10. OM 7:21 and PR 15.10 cite Hos 2:16 [14]. Sa'adya takes pains to emphasize that all these themes originate from Scripture [*Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.v.; Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 302-4].

VIII. The Messiahs of the Lord.¹

If the striking of the king and the latterday exile take place, in the Zecharian programme, between the initial attack on ingathered Israel and their final deliverance, then, if these events are reflected in the Psalter, they should appear somewhere between the Asaph Psalms (Pss 50, 73-83) and the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134). I would suggest that Ps 89 can be read as representing the stricken king and Book IV (Pss 90-106) as representing the ensuing exile. I would further suggest that Ps 45 represents the initial appearance of the king to Israel, that Ps 72 depicts his initial reign, and that Ps 110 represents his appearing as the agent of divine deliverance. In this chapter we shall examine the royal psalms, and try to demonstrate the plausibility of connecting them in this way with the king figures of the Zecharian programme. Then, having surveyed the peaks, we shall, in the next chapter, descend to the trackless wilderness, and investigate the parallels between Book IV and the latterday exile.

The Royal Psalms.

Following Gunkel, most scholars have recognized the group of psalms which refer to Yhwh's king or *mashiah* as representing a separate literary *Gattung*.² Usually included in this group are Pss 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 110, and 132. However the similarity between these psalms is sufficiently clear to have been noted earlier.³ The NT writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews cites Pss 2, 45, and 110 in sequence, and alludes in v.6 to Ps 89:28[27], in order to argue Christian messianic claims. This suggests that these psalms were understood as a related group with a messianic message even in Temple times. Ibn Ezra also noted the similarities among these psalms.

The right interpretation of this psalm [110] in our opinion is that one of the singers composed it about David, like the psalm, *The Lord answer you in the day of trouble* (Ps 20:2[1]), *Lord, in your strength the king rejoices* (Ps 21:2[1]), and, *For Solomon. God give the king your judgments* [Ps 72:1]. And this psalm was composed when David's men swore an oath, saying, 'You shall not go out with us to battle.' And this is the beginning of the singer's words: *The Lord said to my lord*, that is, David.⁴

¹ שנאמר ולציון יאמר איש ואיש יולד בה אלו משיחי ה' משיח בן דוד ומשיח בן אפרים
Midrash on Ps 87:6[5].

² Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 140-171.

³ See Ibn Ezra, Comm on Ps 110:1; Forbes, *Studies*, 4.

⁴ Ibn Ezra, Comm. on Ps 110.

In recognizing the royal psalms as a group, these ancient writers seem to be simply noting what is already implicit in the Psalter. For as Forbes, Childs, Wilson and others have noted, the royal psalms have been positioned in such a way as to suggest that they were regarded as particularly significant.⁵ Many of them occur in positions which mark them as being particular highpoints in the collection. Ps 2 functions together with Ps 1 as an introduction to the entire collection. Ps 72 occurs at the end of a large group of David psalms and closes Book II, Ps 89 occurs at the end of the Korah psalms and closes Book III, and Ps 110 is the last of a short group of Davidic psalms which precedes the Hallel group (Pss 111-118). Other royal psalms, such as 20, 21, 45, and 132, may not be as immediately prominent, but their kingship theme links them with the more prominent royal psalms.

Commentators have also noted that these psalms appear to have been interpreted messianically by the redactor.⁶ For their very inclusion in the Psalter, at a time when the house of David was in eclipse, suggests that the redactor was looking forward to its resurgence under a future Davidic king. And if they are to be interpreted messianically, then their prominence within the collection suggests that the messianic theme is central to the message of the Psalter. We shall briefly examine Pss 2, 45, 72, 110, and 132, to identify their major themes and consider what similarities they might have to the Zecharian eschatological programme.

Psalms 2: Victory Announced.

This psalm has already been reviewed in chapter two, and it is unnecessary to repeat the comments made there. However it is worthwhile to re-emphasize that this psalm appears to have been set together with Ps 1 as an introduction to the entire Psalter. As a result the theme of how Yhwh's *mashiah* will conquer all opposition and rule the world from Zion must be considered as one of the broad, overarching themes of the Psalms, in whose light all the ensuing lyrics, including the royal psalms, should be interpreted.

J. T. Willis has suggested that the psalm's literary *Gattung* is that of a 'Cry of Defiance' before the onset of battle.⁷ He indicates ancient Near Eastern parallels, including Mot's pre-battle rhetoric of defiance before he enters single combat with Baal and is defeated (Baal I AB V.8-23), and the mutual defiances of Goliath and

⁵ Forbes, *Studies*, 4; Childs, *Introduction*, 515-7; Wilson, *Editing*, 209-14.

⁶ Forbes, *Studies*, 4; Westermann, "Formation", 258; Childs, *Introduction*, 515-7; Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 5.

⁷ Willis, "A Cry of Defiance," 33-50.

David (1 Sam 17:41-7). He notes that such cries of defiance tend to have three characteristics also shared by this psalm: first, a threat of impending conflict; second, an affirmation that the speaker's forces will prevail; third, warnings of impending defeat to the enemy and offers of clemency if they capitulate.⁸ If this suggestion is accepted, then Ps 2's introductory role in regard to the Psalter is strengthened. It defies all the opponents of the inauguration of God's messianic rule, *the kings of the earth* (v.2) and announces that, like Baal, Messiah will ultimately triumph and reign secure on his holy mountain.

Psalm 45: The Bridegroom King Comes to Daughter Zion.

This psalm is a royal epithalamion, almost certainly from Israel's monarchic period.⁹ The bard addresses himself to the praises of the royal bridegroom (v.2[1]). He eulogizes his beauty, kind and gracious speech, divine favour and appointment, military prowess, righteous justice, elegant habitation, and the status of his consorts (vv.1-10[1-9]). He then addresses the bride, calling her *בת* *daughter*, because of her youthful beauty and innocence (vv.11-13[10-12]). She is to forget her former family allegiances and give herself wholly to her new lord. Thus shall she be beloved by him and honoured with rich gifts by the wealthy and influential. He proceeds to describe the bride's glorious apparel in the inner chambers, and the bridal procession's progress to the king's palace (vv.14-16[13-15]). The psalm closes with a blessing on the king – may the fruit of the coming union be royal descendants who shall carry his name in all generations (17-18 [16-17]).

The notorious crux of the psalm is v.7[6]: *כסאך אלהים עולם ועד*. Several interpretations exist from ancient times on. Ibn Ezra renders it as *כסאך כסא אלהים*, *Your throne is a throne of God*, a suggestion in line with 1Chr 29:23.¹⁰ Both he and Kimhi record Sa'adya's interpretation: *כסאך יכין אלהים*, *God establishes your throne*.¹¹ In modern times a host of alternatives has been suggested.¹² However, the obvious interpretation of the Hebrew is to take *elohim* as a vocative addressed to the king, as do AV, RV, and NIV. That this interpretation is

⁸ Willis, "A Cry of Defiance," 46.

⁹ Craigie rightly comments, 'All that can be affirmed with reasonable certainty is that the psalm originated at some point in the history of the Hebrew monarchy' [*Psalms 1-50*, 338].

¹⁰ Ibn Ezra, Comm. on Ps 45:7.

¹¹ Ibn Ezra, Comm on Ps 45:7; Kimhi, Comm. on Ps 45:7.

¹² Dahood revocalizes *כסאך* as the Piel of a denominative verb 'enthroned', giving, *The eternal and everlasting God has enthroned you* [*Psalms I*, 273]. NEB proposes, *Your throne is like God's throne, eternal* (cf. Emerton, "Ps 45:7", 338-40). RSV has *Your divine throne*. But, as Craigie notes, none of these suggestions seems linguistically convincing, all either requiring alterations to MT, or contravening Hebrew grammatical conventions [Craigie, *Psalms*, 337].

likeliest is admitted even by those who maintain that the context cannot support it.¹³ And the arguments in its favour are such that a number of commentators, following detailed linguistic analysis of the verse, conclude that no alternative is as viable.¹⁴ Ancient writers know of no other interpretation, LXX, Targum,¹⁵ NT (Heb 1:8), Aquila, Symmachus, Peshitta, and Vulgate all assuming the vocative. Moreover there is evidence elsewhere in the OT to support such a form of royal address. Elsewhere in the Psalter the king is called the son of God and said to be divinely begotten (2:7,12; 89:27[26]), language which probably reflects similar ideas preserved in 2 Sam 7:14 and 1 Chr 17:13. That which is divinely begotten surely merits divine appellation. Porter also parries the objection that *elohim* cannot refer to the king.

. . . in three passages of the Old Testament, 2 Sam. xiv.17,20, xix.28, King David is described as כְּמֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים. Judges xiii strongly suggests that 'the Angel of God' was indistinguishable from God himself. Further, at 2 Sam. xiv.17, David is called the Angel of God, because he is able לְשִׁמְעַת הַטּוֹב וְהָרַע: this recalls Gen. iii.22 לְדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע, and it was precisely this knowledge which placed Adam among the אֱלֹהִים. Thus it is hardly correct that an address to the king as God finds no close parallel elsewhere in the Old Testament.¹⁶

The same is more emphatically true of the prophets' future David. The Isaianic Davidide is called אֵל גִּבּוֹר (Isa 9:5-6[6-7]). The Zecharian one is identified with Yhwh (12:10), who is his social equal (13:7), and said to be כְּאֱלֹהִים and כְּמֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים (12:8), the mysterious being who bears Yhwh's name (Ex 23:20-23).

The likeliest interpretation of v.7[6] would therefore seem to be that the king is indeed addressed as *elohim*. Now Kraus remarks, 'In the ancient Near Eastern cult of kings that is certainly a common phenomenon, but without parallel in the OT.' But if OT parallels, such as those above, can be found, should it not perhaps be considered that Israel's ideology of kingship resembled those of their neighbours more than is commonly accepted? Israel may have rejected the more extreme Egyptian form of

¹³ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 337; Cohen, *Psalms*, 141. See too Porter, "Psalm XLV", who, after providing support for an alternative suggestion of Driver's, concludes that it is better to continue to take *elohim* as a vocative (53).

¹⁴ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, II:95-98; Porter, "Psalm XLV", 51-53; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 452; and Couroyer, "Dieu ou roi?", who cites Egyptian analogies in support of the vocative. Craigie, although he adopts Dahood's revocalization, notes that the vocative 'is the most likely interpretation' [*Psalms 1-50*, 337].

¹⁵ The Targum is paraphrastic: בּוֹרְסִי יִקְרָךְ יְיָ קִיָּים לְעֶלְמִי עֲלָמִין *Your glorious throne, O Lord, endures for ever and ever*. But note that it confirms the vocative address to the deity.

¹⁶ Porter, "Psalm XLV (vv 1-9)", 51.

divine kingship ideology, in which the king was intrinsically divine.¹⁷ But the biblical passages cited above suggest that something like the more moderate Babylonian form, in which the king became the son of God by adoption, was also held in Israel.¹⁸ Such an ideology would differentiate between Yhwh, as the transcendent deity, and the king upon whom he bestowed divine nature, just as the psalm in question distinguishes between the *elohim*-king and his *elohim* who anoints him with the oil of joy, an action which may have symbolized the anointing of the divine spirit (Ps 45:8[7]). The idea of adoption and regeneration to divine sonship was current in Israel as late as the first century CE, when the NT speaks of mortals obtaining divine sonship by divine generation (Jn 1:12-13) and partaking in the divine nature (φύσις; 2Pet 1:4). If such an ideology of kingship did indeed prevail in monarchic Israel, then the divinely anointed (משח; v.8[7]) *elohim* of this psalm is a משיח indeed, though a historical and not an eschatological one.

However, after the downfall of *bet-David*, the continuing belief in its future resurgence would have led to the psalm's being regarded as referring to a future Davidic king. Subsequent commentators certainly interpret it messianically. The Targum renders v.3[2] as, 'Your beauty, King Messiah, surpasses that of the sons of men.'¹⁹ Another early interpretation is Heb 1:8, whose author applies v.7[6] to the Christian messiah. The medieval rabbis thought likewise. Ibn Ezra: 'This psalm was spoken about the David or about the Messiah his son, may his name endure! [Of whom it is said] *And David my servant shall be their prince for ever*' [Ezk 37:25].²⁰ Kimhi: 'This psalm was spoken about the King, the Messiah. It is called *A love song* [Ps 45:1], which is to say, the love of the Lord for his Messiah.'²¹ Mezudat David: 'This song is about the King Messiah.'²² More recent commentators also suggest that this psalm was intended to have a messianic reference within the context of the Psalter,²³ or at least that it is readily amenable to messianic interpretation.²⁴ Thus the

¹⁷ See, for instance, the early 3rd millennium pyramid text: 'Recitation by Nut, the greatly beneficent: The King is my eldest son who split open my womb; he is my beloved, with whom I am well pleased' [Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 1].

¹⁸ Such a difference between the Egyptian and Babylonian divine kingship ideologies is noted by Mowinkel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 1:50-51. See also Engnell, *Studies*, who gives an overview of the divine kingship ideologies of Egypt, Sumeria, Akkadia, Babylon, the Hittites, and Ugarit. Given the ubiquity of the idea, it is unlikely that Israel had no such conception.

¹⁹ שופרך מלכא משיחא עדיף מבני נשא

²⁰ וזה המזמור נאמר על דוד או על המשיח בנו שכן שמו ודוד עבדי נשיא להם לעולם

²¹ וזה המזמור נאמר על המלך המשיח. ונקרא שיר ידידות כלומר אהבת ה' למשיחו

²² השיר הזה הוא על מלך משיח

²³ Baethgen: 'Dazu hat es den Anschein, dass schon der Sammler des Psalters unter dem Könige nicht einen irdischen sondern den himmlischen, den Messias verstand' [*Psalmen*, 34]. Delitzsch notes that

bridegroom figure of this psalm was regarded from early times as representing the anticipated future Davidic hero, and this interpretation, as we have noted, is a likely explanation for its preservation in the Psalter.

If then, the Psalter's redactor might have regarded this as a messianic text, what significance might he have intended for it in the broader context of the collection and its eschatological programme? A number of similarities exists between the picture of the king in this psalm and in Zech 9:9. These are so marked as to suggest, like other previously noted similarities, some kind of influence one way or the other between the Psalter and the Zecharian programme. First, the king in both cases is a representative of the house of David, intimately associated with Yhwh, and exalted, even divine, in being. Moreover, both figures display Solomonic characteristics.²⁵ The psalm's king dispenses justice (v.8[7]), marries a foreign princess, and has a harem (v.10[9]); the Zecharian figure speaks *shalom* to the nations, and is described with the motto which also occurs in Solomonic Ps 72:8 (Zech 9:10). Second, like the figure of the psalm, the Zecharian king is a bridegroom. He comes to Jerusalem as to a young maiden, *Daughter Zion*, who rejoices in eager anticipation at his approach. The bride in each case is addressed as *בת* (Ps 45:11[10]; Zech 9:9). Third, in both texts the king is represented riding, the verb *רכב* being used in each case (Ps 45:5[4]; Zech 9:9). Delitzsch maintains that the psalmic figure is going to war and therefore should not be envisaged as mounted on an ass.²⁶ This is no doubt true. But there is nothing in the psalm to contradict explicitly the *חמור* of Zech 9:9, and possibly this should be regarded as another of the prophet's reversals of earlier traditions, such as we noted in the preceding chapter. Fourth, the characteristics of each figure are justice and humility. The one rides forth on behalf of *ענוה-צדק* (Ps 45:5[4]); the other is *צדיק* and *עני* (Zech 9:9). True, the Zecharian figure is actually humble or humbled (*עני*), while his counterpart merely contends on behalf of 'just humility'. But the identification with the humble cause is the same, though greater in degree, and the use of the same verbal roots in each case is striking.

the admission of this psalm into the canon is 'inexplicable' unless it was interpreted messianically [*Psalms*, II:85].

²⁴ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 244-5; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 340-1.

²⁵ Both Kirkpatrick and Delitzsch reject the suggestion, based on Ahab's ivory palace and Tyrian bride (v.9[8] cf. 1 Ki 16:31; 22:39), that the figure of the psalm might represent Ahab, noting that the language of the psalm is based upon the messianic predictions to *bet-David* [Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 223-4; Delitzsch, *Psalms*, II:86-8]. Delitzsch allows that it could have been written for either Solomon or Jehoram, but thinks the latter likelier. Kirkpatrick, on the other hand, considers that Solomon is the likelier, noting, in my opinion rightly, that the Yhwhistic poet would not have regarded an alliance with the idolatrous house of Ahab with such satisfaction.

²⁶ *Psalms*, II:93.

Such similarities seem more than fortuitous, and suggest some kind of link between the ideas of the psalm and Zech 9:9. The prophetic writer may have borrowed from the psalm, already arranged into some kind of programmatic proto-Psalter. Or the psalm's place in the Psalter may have been inspired by the Zecharian reference to it. Or other alternatives might be proposed. But this much is clear: in the eschatological programmes of Zech 9-14 and the Psalter, the latterday Davidic king is represented as a bridegroom coming to Israel, mounted, and identified with the concepts עֲנֹה and צֶדֶק.

Such an interpretation of Ps 45 makes sense of the surrounding lyrics. Pss 42 and 43 represent Israel in exile, separated from the Temple (42:3-5[2-4]), taunted by the heathen, crying to God for redemption, and anticipating its coming (42:10-11[9-10]; 43:1-5). Ps 44 rehearses the events of the exodus (vv.2-4[1-3]), celebrates God's saving power (5-9[4-8]), laments Israel's sorrows which God has brought upon them (10-23[9-22]), and culminates with a plea that God redeem them (vv.24-27[23-26]), presumably just as he formerly did at the exodus, by leading them out of heathen oppression to the promised land. Ps 45 therefore becomes the answer to this prayer, revealing the redeemer, the bridegroom-king, who will turn Israel's sorrow to joy. Pss 46 to 48 then celebrate the ultimate triumph of God's cause (46), kingdom (47), and city (48), before the divine command to gather Israel is issued at Asaph Ps 50:5.

Psalm 72: A Kingdom Established.

This psalm is a prayer and blessing for a king whose just empire shall encompass the whole earth. LXX and many subsequent interpreters regard the לְשִׁלְמֹה heading as meaning *for Solomon* rather than *by Solomon*.²⁷ Certainly, the heading suggests that the one addressed is a king of the house of David, either Solomon or, by implication, a successor. The psalm begins with a prayer that God grant the king divine discernment (מִשְׁפָּטִיךָ) and integrity (צֶדֶק־ךָ) so as rightly to maintain justice, as a result of which (the כ of כְּצֶדֶק־ךָ indicating instrumentality²⁸) the land will bear *shalom* to the people (vv.1-4). The psalmist then speaks of the universal dominion of the king, in which all his enemies submit and all nations become tribute to him (vv.8-11). There

²⁷ LXX has εἰς Σαλωμών. The Syriac heading is, 'A Psalm of David, when he had made Solomon king.' The Padua edn. of *Midrash Tehillim* (Warsaw, 1865) says, *David said of Solomon* (72.2). Although Buber's edn. (Vilnius, 1881) has at the same place the variant, *Solomon also said*, both editions regard Solomon as the addressee of the psalm at their comment on v.20: *All of these were the prayers David uttered concerning his son Solomon and concerning the King Messiah* (MidTeh 72.6). The same opinion is held by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimhi [Comms. on Ps 72:1].

²⁸ See the suggested translations of Delitzsch [*Psalms*, II:342] and Kirkpatrick [*Psalms*, 419].

follows a further description of the beneficial effects of his reign to the poor and needy, whom he will rescue from oppression and violence (vv.12-15). The psalmist then recapitulates all his themes, conferring on the king length of life, wealth, the prayers, blessing, and esteem of his subjects, eternal honour and renown, and on the kingdom abundant provisions and populace (vv.15-17). The psalm concludes with a benediction on Yhwh (vv.18-19).

As with other royal psalms, the messianic interpretation implied by its inclusion in the Psalter is explicit in later interpreters. Ben Sira refers to v.8 in the context of Israel's eschatological hope, saying that Abraham's seed will inherit from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth (44:21): The Targum renders v.1 as 'God, give King Messiah the precepts of your judgments.'²⁹ PRE 14a and NumR 13:14 interpret the psalm of Messiah ben David. MidTeh 72.6 regards it as referring to Solomon and to the Messiah. Ibn Ezra adopts the same dual interpretation, as does Kimhi, who notes that the messianic interpretation was widespread among his predecessors.³⁰ Early Christian interpreters likewise regard it as a messianic psalm.³¹ Modern commentators also recognize in the psalm a degree of intentional messianism, in the sense that it refers to an ideal king. Peters, for instance, comments,

It reminds one of such Psalms to divine kings as have come down to us from ancient Babylonian sources for the celebration of the royal birth feasts and the like, and may have been influenced by the existence of such worship and such compositions, with their similar pictures of the king administering justice, caring for the needy, bringing prosperity and peace to his people and much more; but all these elements, it must be added, already existed in Hebrew literature, and are constantly referred to from an early period onward as the marks of a good king. The picture of the Messianic rule, which is specifically Hebrew, is very ancient in its origin, going back nearly if not quite to the reign of David . . .³²

Kirkpatrick regards both eschatological and historical interpretations as valid.

It is even possible that the Psalm does not refer to any particular king, but is a prayer for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom under a prince of David's line according to prophecy, the lyrical counterpart in fact of Zech ix.9ff. At the same time it does appear to have a definite historical background, and to be a prayer for a king who is actually on the throne.³³

However the earliest messianic interpretation is the one which also connects it with the Zecharian eschatological programme, for v.8 is cited almost verbatim at Zech 9:10

²⁹ אלהא דילכות דינך למלכא משיחא.

³⁰ Ibn Ezra, Comm. on Ps 72:1. Kimhi, Comm. on Ps 72:1 and 20.

³¹ See Justin Martyr, *Dial. with Trypho*, 34. Further examples are noted by Carrière, "Le Ps 72," 49ff.

³² Peters, *Psalms as Liturgies*, 270-71.

³³ *Psalms*, 417.

in reference to the coming king. Moreover, in both the Psalter and Zechariah this prediction of universal dominion occurs in a similar position, following the advent of the messiah (Ps 45; Zech 9:9) and preceding the eschatological war (Ps 83; Zech 9:13-16). Therefore the significance of the psalm in terms of the Psalter's eschatological programme may be related to the significance of its citation in the programme of Zech 9-14. The possibilities of what the citation may represent are as follows.

(1) It may simply be a prediction of the king's ultimate dominion depicted in the homage of the nations in Zech 14:16ff, where the king's presence is unstated but implied.

(2) On the other hand, it may indicate a temporary messianic rule preceding the latterday war and the king's affliction. For, if he is to be a stricken king, and Israel are to control Jerusalem prior to the time of the conflict, then some kind of temporary messianic *malkut* must be envisaged before the time of trouble.

(3) Perhaps the most likely suggestion is that both the temporary and the final *malkut* are symbolised by this prediction of universal rule, the lesser initial kingdom being described in terms of the greater and ultimate one.

As with Zech 9:10, so with the eschatological programme of the Psalter. Ps 72 could symbolize either a temporary messianic kingdom preceding the war in Ps 83, or anticipate the final kingdom represented in Pss 120-134, or a combination of both, the temporary kingdom being represented in terms of its ultimate triumph. I would tentatively adopt the last of these positions. In that case, Ps 72 symbolizes the initial kingdom of the one who came to Daughter Zion like a bridegroom in Ps 45, and represents it in terms of its ultimate extent in the final *malkut*, when all opposition shall be overcome. The intervening psalms would therefore represent the period between the king's coming and the inauguration of his kingdom. Pss 46-49 look forward to Israel's ingathering. Asaph Ps 50 represents the divine command to gather Israel. Ps 51 might represent the king's repentance for the former crimes of *bet-David*, including spiritual adultery, and his prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem (v.20[18]). The subsequent David Pss 52-70 might represent the king's hardships in establishing the kingdom. Their context is initially one of persecution in the desert, but they progress to a Jerusalem context and become increasingly triumphant. Ps 67 proclaims the ultimate triumph of Yhwh's kingdom over all nations.³⁴ Ps 68 is likewise a battle psalm, featuring a triumphal procession (v.25[24]ff.). These hardships and wars

³⁴ A later tradition illustrates the messianic conquest theme of Ps 67. It relates that this psalm was inscribed on David's shield in the form of the *menorah*, and that 'when he went forth to battle, he would meditate on its mystery and conquer' [G. Scholem, "Magen David," *EJ* 11:695].

culminate in the *Malkut* of Ps 72, which is followed by the Jerusalem context of Asaph Psalms 73-83, culminating in the invasion of the ten-nation alliance in Ps 83.

Psalm 89: The King Cut Off.

Ps 89 is an appeal to Yhwh regarding his apparent breach of covenant in the extinction of the Davidic line. It opens with a declaration of Yhwh's covenant faithfulness (חֶסֶד יְהוָה), as if in defiance of the apparent breach of that faithfulness which is the psalmist's concern (vv.2-3[1-2]). This is followed by a citation of the terms of Yhwh's covenant with David, emphasizing the promise of the eternal endurance of his line (vv.4-5[3-4]). Then follows an extended hymnic passage of praise to Yhwh which develops the themes of vv.2-3 (vv.6-19[5-18]). It emphasizes Yhwh's אֱמוּנָה (v.9[8]), צֶדֶק, מִשְׁפָּט, חֶסֶד, and אֱמֶת (v.15[14]), together with his sovereignty and power which ensure the success of all his purposes (vv.6-14[5-13]). Then the themes of vv.4-5 undergo further expansion in an extended exposition of the origin and terms of the Davidic covenant (vv.20-38[19-37]). Particular emphasis is placed on the eternal nature of the covenant. It is לְעוֹלָם (vv.29,37[28,36]) and וְעַד (v.30[29]) and עוֹלָם וְעַד (v.38[37]), and its guarantee is said by Yhwh three times to be his own אֱמוּנָה and חֶסֶד (vv.25,29,34 [24,28,33]), leading to a covenant which will never be broken (v.35[34]), confirmed by an oath sworn by Yhwh's own holiness (v.36[35]). A more inviolable declaration can hardly be conceived. Then comes the crux of the psalm, to which this extended rehearsal of Yhwh's faithfulness, sovereignty, and power has been leading. The dynasty, which the eternal, almighty, faithful God swore to preserve forever, has come to an end. God himself has rejected David and the covenant; he has destroyed David's city, exalted his foes, degraded his royal line, and cut off the days of his youth, that is, prematurely terminated either David's line, or its representative, or both (vv.39-46[38-45]). There seems to be a hint, in the phrase, *you have pierced/defiled* (חָלַלְתָּ) *his crown to the earth*, that the Davidic king, like Josiah, has been pierced in battle. For, even given the well-attested secondary meaning of חָלַל as *defile*, the writer could not but have been aware of connoting its fundamental idea, *pierce*.³⁵ The use of this verb might be thought to connect the afflicted king of the psalm with the מַחֲלֵל figure of Isa 53:5, apparently so influential to the Zecharian writer, and perhaps with the afflicted one of Ps 88:1 also.³⁶ Having stated the irresolvable problem, he can do no more than appeal to

³⁵ Both meanings of חָלַל are attested in the *piel*. The meaning *pierce* is attested in both *qal* and *piel* (Ezk 28:9) forms. The less common meaning, *defile*, is usually *piel*, and is not attested in *qal*. The latter may be derived from the former, possibly by the idea of defilement by sexual piercing (cf. Lev 19:29; 21:7) [BDB, 319-20].

³⁶ See below for the possible derivation of מַחֲלֵל לְעֵנֹת (Ps 88:1) from חָלַל.

Yhwh, asking how long he will remain inactive and negligent of his חסד (vv.47-50[46-49]) and of the whole multitude of nations (כל-רבים עמים) which have scorned every step of his anointed king (vv.51-53[50-52]).

Commentators have varied in their approach to the psalm. Those who seek a historical context for its origin have found one in the death of Josiah at Megiddo³⁶ or the situation with King Jehoiachin after 597 BCE,³⁷ or elsewhere. Another school of thought, disregarding historical questions, maintains that the psalm originated as a liturgy for a ritual humiliation ceremony for the Israelite king. The two approaches, as Tate notes, are not necessarily antithetical.³⁸ What is significant however is that each of these approaches regards the psalm as referring to the apparent extinction of the Davidic line, possibly in the death of its representative. No other interpretive option seems to be available.

Like other royal psalms, Ps 89's preservation in the Psalter after the eclipse of *bet-David* suggests it was understood as indicating an anticipated future Davidide. This is particularly likely with this psalm whose references to Yhwh's משיח (vv.39,52 [38,51]; cf. 21[20]) would have been most readily understood in post-exilic times of the future figure. Its implicit messianic interpretation in the Psalter is confirmed by later interpreters. The Targum renders v.52: 'With which your enemies have scoffed, O Lord, with which they have scoffed at the delay of the footsteps of your Messiah, O Lord.' The addition of 'delay' is to convey 'the idea that the enemies cannot scoff at the Messiah himself, since he has not yet come, but rather they scoff at the fact that the Jewish people is looking for him and he is delayed; they laugh at the very thought of his coming at all.'³⁹ The NT writer of Heb 1:6 seems to allude to this psalm, in the context of a sequence of messianic proof-texts, when he calls the Messiah πρωτότοκον, *firstborn*, a term used of human leaders in the OT only in this psalm [LXX 88:28] and Dt 33:17, the latter also being widely regarded as a messianic text.⁴⁰

³⁶ Kraus, *Psalms*, II:203; Bentzen, *King*, 30; more tentatively, Goulder, *Korah*, 213-9; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 416. This view is also noted by Anderson, *Psalms*, II:631.

³⁷ This is the preferred opinion of Goulder [*Korah*, 213-9] and Tate [*Psalms 51-100*, 416]. The view is also noted by Anderson, *Psalms*, II:631.

³⁸ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 414.

³⁹ Levey, *Messiah*, 121.

⁴⁰ GenR 75.6; 99.2; NumR 14.1; MidTan 11.3; and PRE 22a all apply the text to Messiah ben Joseph. PR 53.2 applies it to messiah non-specifically. Possibly the earliest evidence for the messianic interpretation of Dt 33:17 is the bull figure of 1 En 90, which commentators regard as a messianic symbol [Charles, *Enoch*, 258n; Isaac, "1 Enoch" (in Charlesworth, *Pseud.*, I:5-89) 5; Milik, *Enoch*, 45; Torrey, *Apoc. Literature*, 112; "Messiah", 266]. The use of the term *firstborn* seems to connect the

Rev 1:5 alludes to the same verse. Juel notes that much other NT messianic language appears to derive from this psalm.⁴¹ Rabbinic literature also attests a well-established tradition of messianic exegesis of this psalm.⁴² The following passage from GenR on 49:8 cites Ps 89, as Juel notes, among the familiar messianic oracles Gen 49:8-12, Isa 11:1ff., and 2Sam 7:10ff.⁴³ It also identifies the cut-off 'David' of the psalm as Messiah.

Furthermore, the royal Messiah will be descended from the tribe of Judah, as it says, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the root of Jesse, that standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek" (Isa 11:10). . . . Judah was the fourth of the tribal ancestors to be born, just as the daleth is the fourth letter of the alphabet and is the fourth letter of his name. On the fourth day the luminaries were created, while of the Messiah it is written, "And his throne [shall endure] as the sun before me" (Ps 89:37) . . . and so it says, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah" (Gen 49:10); it is also written, "And thy house and thy kingdom shall be made sure forever" (II Sam 7:16); also, "For ever will I keep him for My mercy" (Ps 89:29).⁴⁴

Likewise, ExodR on 13:1 identifies Messiah with the central figure of the psalm, particularly in regard to the mysterious designation 'firstborn', applied to slain Messiah ben Joseph in other literature of the period.

R. Nathan said: The Holy One, blessed be He, told Moses: "Just as I have made Jacob a firstborn, for it says: 'Israel is My son, My firstborn' (Exod 4:22), so I will make the King Messiah a firstborn, as it says: 'I also will appoint him firstborn'"⁴⁵

It is not difficult to imagine how this psalm would fit into a proposed eschatological programme of the Psalter. As in the Zecharian programme the Davidic king is stricken, pierced, and mourned for (Zech 11:17; 12:10; 13:7), so here also the Davidic line is extinguished in the cutting off (v.46[45]), and possibly the piercing (v.40[39]), of its representative. Just as in Zechariah this event takes place at or during the foreign invasion (Zech 12:3; 14:2), so in the Psalter it comes in the wake of the invasion represented in Ps 83. The connection is strengthened by the Psalm's possible reference to Josiah, which accords with the reference to Megiddo in Zech 12:11, and the Targum's understanding it of Josiah.

Davidic king of this psalm with the Ephraimitic conqueror of Dt 33:17. This shall be discussed more fully in the comment on Ps 92 in chapter IX.

⁴¹ Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 107ff.

⁴² bSanh 97a; GenR on 49:8; ExodR on 13:1; SongR 2:13; Ibn Ezra on Ps 89:1,53.

⁴³ Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 105.

⁴⁴ GenR on 49:8. The translation is from Freeman (tr.), *Midrash Rabbah*.

⁴⁵ ExodR on 13:1. The translation is from Freeman (tr.), *Midrash Rabbah*.

If this psalm represents the cutting off of the Messiah then the preceding psalms may be interpreted in light of it. Ps 83, as noted, depicts the invasion of Israel by a ten-nation confederacy. Pss 84 appears to be a prayer for divine assistance in establishing the *mashiah* (vv.9-10[8-9]), an interpretation also found in the Targum to v.10[9]: *See, O God, the righteousness of our fathers, and look upon the face of your Messiah.*⁴⁶ Such a prayer would suggest that king and kingdom are in jeopardy. The speaker is represented as a Korahite Levite (v.1), returned from exile with others (vv.6-8[5-7]), to a Jerusalem in which the Temple is now rebuilt (vv.2-5,11 [1-4,10]). Ps 85 gives thanks for the ingathering of the exiles (vv.2-4[1-3]), implores that God turn away his present *anger* (vv.5,6; כַּעַס, אַנְּף, and אַף), possibly a reference to the invasion of Ps 83, and looks forward to deliverance (v.10[9]) and a happy aftermath (vv.11-14[10-13]). In the next psalm, Ps 86, the לְדָוִד superscription suggests that the plight of the king is now in view. The voice is that of an individual, calling to Yhwh to save his life for he is helpless and in dire straits (vv.1-7). He is being attacked by a confederation of tyrants (עֲדַת עֲרִיצִים), a phrase which might well describe the protagonists of Ps83:6-9[5-8], and whose reference to foreign nations is confirmed by vv.8-9, which affirm that Yhwh is greater than foreign gods, and that all nations will some day pay him homage. Ps 87, an encomium of Zion, seems strange in the context of Pss 86 and 88. All that can be said is that it appears to anticipate the city's future glory, when all nations will confess her as the fount of the world's joy. However, if its particular applicability to the latterday war is unclear, its general connection with exactly such a context was recognized by ancient interpreters: 'This man and that man refer to the Messiahs of the Lord, to Messiah ben David and Messiah ben Ephraim.'⁴⁷ Such a connection with the dying Ephraim (Joseph) Messiah suggests that the psalm was connected with the period of his reign which preceded the conflict. Ps 88 is the cry of a suffering individual, who describes himself as descending into Sheol (vv.4-7[3-6]). The horrors of his situation are described in the 'deadly threat' imagery of darkness and overwhelming waves of divine wrath and judgment (vv.8-9,15-18 [7-8,14-17]). Such a psalm would well describe the death-cry of the suffering Messiah, which is exactly the interpretation that it bears in ancient Christian interpretation.⁴⁸ Such an interpretation is confirmed by the heading, עַל־מַחֲלַת לַעֲנֹת, which would appear to mean something like, *Concerning the sickness of affliction or the afflicted one*. The root עָנִי would connect the figure of this psalm with the afflicted king of Zech 9:9, a connection which would be strengthened if Goulder's derivation of מַחֲלַת from חָלַל

⁴⁶ זְכוֹת אֲבֹהֵתָנָא חֲמִי אֱלֹהִים וְאַסְתַּכֵּל אֲנִפִּי מִשִּׁיחָךְ

⁴⁷ MidTeh 87.6.

⁴⁸ See Culpepper, "The Song of the Church."

is accepted,⁴⁹ giving the sense *For the piercing of the afflicted one*, thus providing a connection with the pierced king of Zech 12:10. It should be noted too that the suffering figure of Isa 53 is also identified with the roots חלה (vv.3,4,10), חלל (v.5), and ענה (v.7), a fact which strengthens the mutual links between this psalm, Zech 11-13, and Isaiah's figure.

Psalm 110: The Heavenly Conqueror.

The origins of this psalm are obscure. It may be, as some have suggested, an attempt to legitimate Jerusalem and the priestly prerogative of the Davidic line by appeal to Melchizedek's ancient royal priesthood in Jerusalem, described in Gen 14.⁵⁰ A good case can also be made for regarding it as eschatological and messianic from the outset.⁵¹ Such questions however must be omitted from our present investigation. Instead, an attempt shall be made simply to determine what the psalm is saying about the king figure it describes.

The psalm's central figure is a king. The tone is martial and promises the king dominion from Zion over all nations, achieved by holy war waged by Yhwh's power. The psalm opens with his being offered the place at Yhwh's right hand. This may be metaphorical for the king being honoured by Yhwh. Or it may indicate the position of the royal palace on the south side of the Temple.⁵² Or it may relate to a corresponding ritual position at a cultic enthronement ceremony, or refer to a throne to one side of the Holy of Holies.⁵³ However, metaphor and interpretation aside, the words as they stand suggest that the king is being offered a place in Yhwh's heavenly throne room or divine council. Certainly, the psalm leaves itself open to such an interpretation, and ancient texts and interpreters suggest that it was formerly so understood.

(1) Hay suggests that the vision of the divine throne room in Dan 7:13-14, with its thrones, one for God and one apparently for a human figure, is based upon Ps 110:1, the 'only scriptural text which explicitly speaks of someone enthroned beside God.'⁵⁴ Later interpretation of the Daniel passage appears to support Hay's suggestion: 'But how explain, *Till thrones were placed?* [Dan 7:9] – One [throne] was for himself and one for David. Even as it has been taught: One was for himself and one for David: this is R. Akiba's view' (bSanh 38b).

⁴⁹ Goulder, *Sons of Korah*, 202.

⁵⁰ Ishida, *Royal Dynasties*, 137-40; Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 81.

⁵¹ Kissane, "Psalm 110," 106; Rehm, *Der königliche Messias*, 329-31; Kidner, *Psalms 73-150*, 392.

⁵² Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 666.

⁵³ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 348.

⁵⁴ Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 26.

(2) The Melchizedek figure of 11QMelch, referred to as *elohim* and head of the sons of heaven, appears from above to preside 'over the final judgment and condemnation of his demonic counterpart, Belial/Satan, the Prince of Darkness.'⁵⁵ Such a figure appears to have been influenced by this psalm, the interpreter apparently understanding *על־דברתי* (v.4) as *on my account* or *according to my promise*,⁵⁶ and *Melchizedek* as vocative: that is, *You are a priest forever according to my promise, Melchizedek*.⁵⁷ Certainly the heavenly conqueror Melchizedek envisaged in the Qumran text could hardly be dependent upon Gen 14 alone. 11QMelch therefore seems to reflect an early understanding that the central figure of this psalm was to appear from the heavenly realms to wage cosmic war.

(3) The NT repeatedly understands Ps 110:1 as referring to the heavenly throne-room of God. It is cited at Acts 2:29-36, where the argument is that David was buried and did not ascend to heaven (vv.29,34), but he wrote of one who did (v.34), and therefore he was speaking of the Messiah (vv.31,36). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues that the glorified Messiah has sat down 'at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven' (8:1; cf. 1:3; 10:12; 12:2) and there waits 'for his enemies to be made his footstool' (10:13). Many other NT references to this psalm can be understood only of a heavenly enthronement (Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; 16:19; Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1).

(4) T.Job 33.3 understands 'the right hand of God' as being in the heavenly throne-room. Job says, 'My throne is in the heavenly world and its glory and splendour are at the right hand of God.' Moreover, this passage describes the vindication of a righteous sufferer, an idea akin to that of the king figure in the Psalter, who must be 'cut off' in Ps 89 before attaining the sovereignty described in the present psalm and Ps 132.

Thus a case can be made for seeing the king of this psalm initially enthroned at Yhwh's right hand in heaven, where he is promised dominion over his enemies (vv.1-2). However, as the king's final position in the psalm is in earthly battle (v.5), a descent from heaven to earth may be envisaged. Might *יֵרֵד* of v.2 at some time have been understood, possibly by ancient aural ambiguity, as *יֵרֵד*: *Descend among your*

⁵⁵ Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 300; van der Woude, "Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt", 354-73.

⁵⁶ So Schreiner, "Psalm 110," 217.

⁵⁷ The simple understanding of *על־דברתי* would be that the *yodh* indicates a pronominal suffix, as at Job 5:18, where the same term occurs. The more unlikely translation, *according to the order of Melchizedek*, finds support in LXX's κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ, which may have originated from the translator's unwillingness to have the Davidic king addressed as Melchizedek. It is therefore significant that the Hebrew writer of 11QMelch delineates a figure, who resembles the hero of Ps 110, yet is not merely *in the order of Melchizedek*, but Melchizedek by name.

enemies ? There is no textual evidence for it, although descent (יֵרֵד) upon the earth, albeit metaphorical, is attributed to the superhero-king of Ps 72:6. However, even without such a reading, the psalm suggests that the king is descending from heaven to earth to make war.

Tournay has called v.3 the most obscure verse in the Psalter.⁵⁸ However some of it at least, enough to aid our understanding, is comprehensible. Given the martial context, עִמָּךְ נִרְבֵּת בַּיּוֹם חִילְךָ (v.3a) seems to indicate that the king's *people*, his army, will be, in Delitzsch's phrase, 'altogether cheerful willingness' upon his day of battle.⁵⁹ This is confirmed by Judg 5:2 where in a holy war context the phrase בַּהֲתַנְדֵּב עַם denotes warriors' willingness for combat, as confirmed by LXX's rendering, ἐν προαίρεσει λαοῦ. If then v.3a turns from the description of the king to depict his army assembled for the messianic conquest, either of the variant readings for the next part of the verse, the better-attested בַּהֲרִי קֹדֶשׁ or the alternative בַּהֲרִי קֹדֶשׁ, makes sense. The latter would describe the scene of the battle, *the holy hills* of the land of Israel, upon which the eschatological war takes place (Ezk 38:21; 39:17). The former reading would describe the army's attire. As soldiers of the priest-king (v.4), they are clad in supernatural holy garments to carry out the great sacrifice of the messianic war (cf. Ezk 39:17).

הַדָּרַת קֹדֶשׁ is the vestment of the priest when performing divine service (xcvi.9, xxix.2); in "holy attire" the Levite singers go forth before the army (2 Chr xx.21) – here, however, all the people, without distinction, wear holy festive garments. Thus they surround the divine King like dew born out of the womb of the morning. It is a priestly people whom he leads forth to holy battle, just as in Rev. xix.14 heavenly hosts upon white horses follow the Logos of God, ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινον λευκὸν καθαρόν – a new generation, wondrously born as it were out of heavenly light, numerous, fresh and vigorous like the pearly dew, the children of the dawn.⁶⁰

The next phrase, מִרְחֹם מִשְׁחָר לְךָ טַל יִלְדֹתְךָ, should be interpreted in the same general context of the description of the messianic army. Thus Allen notes, 'The military context suggests that the basically abstract יִלְדֹת is used concretely and collectively with the sense "young men."'⁶¹ טַל is a simile denoting the freshness and vigour of the troops. The latter part of the phrase might therefore be rendered, *your young soldiers, like dew, will come to you*. The rich imagery of מִרְחֹם מִשְׁחָר evokes many associations. What can be most simply maintained is that it denotes the army's place of origin, a place both splendid and supernatural. It may be the place of the

⁵⁸ Tournay, "Psaume 110," 11.

⁵⁹ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:168.

⁶⁰ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:169.

⁶¹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 81.

dawn. It may also suggest the dawning of a new age, described elsewhere in sunrise imagery (cf. Isa 60:1; Mal 3:20[4:2]). It might even contain a reference to the resurrection of the dead. For there is a striking parallel with the language of Isa 26:18-19, probably the earliest unmistakable reference to resurrection in Hebrew literature, in the imagery of birth, dew, and dawn: *For dew (טל) of the dawn (אורת) is your dew; the earth to the dead (רפאים) will give birth (תפיל).*⁶² The idea that the faithful dead will rise at Messiah's appearing is, of course, well-attested in later Hebrew literature.⁶³

Following v.4, wherein the king is promised eternal sovereignty and priesthood by a divine oath, vv.5 and 6 describe the messianic war as such. At this point it is necessary to note that the figures of the king and Yhwh become conflated. The application to Yhwh of the plural form of the title initially used of the king (v.1; אֲדֹנָי) prepares the way for coming ambiguities. *The Lord*, presumably Yhwh, now goes forth on the king's right hand (v.5). The reversal of positions from v.1 changes the metaphor from one of honour to one of defence and strength. In battle, the left side of the body was covered by the shield, whereas the right was unprotected, and so the right hand man gave secure protection in battle. Similarly, the deity at the right hand suggests the strengthening of the sword arm, and hence success in battle. The subject of v.6, who executes judgment and *crushes head* in victorious world war, is presumably Yhwh again, since no other subject has intervened since the beginning of v.5. But by the beginning of v.7, although no other subject is stated, the subject appears to have become the king again. For the action of drinking from *a stream upon*

⁶² Sawyer rightly says of Isa 26:18ff, 'This is a reference to the resurrection of the dead which no-one but a Sadducee, ancient or modern, could possibly misconstrue' [*Hebrew Words*, 234].

⁶³ The possibility of a reference to resurrection in the Psalter probably depends as much on who is to be resurrected as upon when the concept of resurrection originated. Compare the development of the idea of the afterlife in Egypt, which was at first the prerogative only of royal figures, as in the following spell from a funerary text of the late fifth or early sixth dynasty (first half of third millennium BCE): 'Nu has commended the King to Atum, the Open-armed has commended the King to Shu, that he may cause yonder doors of the sky to be opened for the King, barring (ordinary) folk who have no name' [Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 117]. But later the lower classes were increasingly thought eligible for participation in the afterlife, as is evident throughout the *Book of the Dead* [Faulkner]. Sawyer recognizes a reference to a general resurrection of the dead in Isa 26:19, but makes no comment on his view of its dating [Sawyer, *Hebrew Words*, 234]. 4Q521, which probably dates from the late third century BCE, refers to a Messiah in whose time the Lord will raise the dead [4Q521.1.2.12. The text is in Vermes, "Qumran Miscellanea," 303-4. The dating is from Prof. Vermes in a personal letter of 7 March 1993]. Again a general resurrection seems to be in view. This supports those scholars who have previously argued that the idea of resurrection predates the classic statement in Dan 12:2 [Saracino, "Risurrezione in Ben Sira?" 185-203; Stemmerger, "Das Problem," 273-90]. In that case, the idea of the favoured righteous rising at Messiah's coming may be older still, and might have been entertained by the redactor, or even the poet, of this psalm.

the way is more readily comprehensible of a human king than of Yhwh himself. Thus there seems to be a conflation of Yhwh and the king, in a way not dissimilar to what was noted in Zech 12:8,10 and Ps 45:7[6]. This is presumably to stress their oneness of will and purpose. And while the stress is on Yhwh as warrior throughout (vv.1,2,5,6), the king cannot be omitted from the warfare, for it is probably he who drinks to refresh himself after the battle (v.7a). Yet more than refreshment is in view; על-כך (v.7b) emphasizes that the drink is the reason for the hero's lifting his head. It is a source of new strength. Some mythological river may be indicated, possibly the eschatological stream which the prophets envisage flowing from the latterday house of Yhwh (Ezk 47; Joel 4[3]2a; Zech 14:8).⁶⁴

The messianic interpretation of this psalm, implied in its preservation in the Psalter, is also found in early interpretation. In 11QMelch, the depiction of the heavenly warrior Melchizedek who executes cosmic judgment seems, as noted above, to be dependent on this psalm. The NT cites this psalm more than any other OT text, invariably interpreting its king figure as the Messiah.⁶⁵ It also represents those outside the Christian community as interpreting it likewise.⁶⁶ This is a weighty argument for its being an accepted messianic text in the first century, for the apologetic aims of these documents suggest that their arguments were designed to interact with accepted contemporary exegesis. There is also explicit evidence from a slightly later period that Judaism regarded this psalm as messianic prophecy.⁶⁷

R. Yudan said in the name of R. Hama: In the time to come, when the Holy One, blessed be he, seats the Lord Messiah at his right hand, as it is said, *The Lord says to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand'* [Ps 110:1] (MidTeh 18, sec.29).

⁶⁴ The eschatological stream occurs in Otot 10:2 in conjunction with the same peculiar motif of drinking בדרך *by the road*. If this were part of the established imagery of the eschatological stream, then it strengthens such an interpretation of Ps 110:7. Although נחל is not used of the eschatological river in the Bible, it does occur in this connection in post-biblical Hebrew (cf. PirM 6:9).

⁶⁵ It is cited at Mt 22:44; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:42-43; 22:69; Acts 2:34-35; Heb 1:13; 5:6; 7:17,21. It is alluded to at Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62; 16:19; Rom 8:34; 1Cor 15:25; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3; 5:10; 6:20; 7:3; 8:1; 10:12; 10:13; 12:2; and possibly Jn 12:34 (Ps 110:4). Some of these suggest a future return of Messiah from heaven.

⁶⁶ The Pharisees are represented as accepting the force of Jesus' argument based on the messianic interpretation of Ps 110 at Mt 22:43ff; the Temple crowd do likewise at Mk 12:35ff. Similarly, the letter to the Hebrews, which argues the case for Jesus messiahship to an Israelite readership, accepts the messianic interpretation of Ps 110 as a given throughout.

⁶⁷ Apart from the messianic interpretation, the psalm is also interpreted historically as concerning Abraham (bNed 32b; bSanh 108b; MidTeh 110, sec.4).

(Otot 8:4; MidTeh 18.29). Similarly, Christian tradition, following the lead of the NT, ubiquitously regards this psalm as a messianic prediction.⁶⁸

In our proposed eschatological programme this psalm would come at the time of Israel's deliverance, paralleled in the Zecharian programme by Zech 14:3-8. A number of parallels between the psalm and the Zecharian programme make this likely.

(1) In each case the one who does the deliverance is Yhwh himself (Zech 14:3-5; Ps 110:5-6).⁶⁹ Yet in both the psalm and Zech 9-14 the actions of Yhwh and the king are conflated to such a degree that the two figures merge into one.⁷⁰ There is therefore little difficulty in regarding the deliverer in each case both as Yhwh's representative king and as Yhwh himself coming with his king. For it would be a high degree of anthropomorphism indeed to regard Yhwh as physically touching the earth with his feet so that it split (Zech 14:4). We would suggest that the picture of a king fully endowed with Yhwh's anointing fits both texts.

(2) In Zechariah, as in the psalm, the deliverer descends upon the earth from above. Yhwh's proper residence is the supraterrrestrial region. Thus, if at his appearing his feet are to touch the Mount of Olives (Zech 14:4), a descent from heaven seems to be envisaged.

(3) In Zechariah, as in the psalm, the descending deliverer brings with him an army of glorious beings. In the psalm, they are the newborn of the sunrise. In Zech 14:5 they are כל-קדשים. If, as we suggested, the troops of the psalm are the resurrected righteous, then this would accord well with the traditional interpretation of Zech 14:5. A Christian writer, in late Second Temple times, appears to envisage the resurrection of the dead at the appearance of the heavenly deliverer in Zech 14:3-5. He alludes to the Zecharian coming of the Lord with his holy ones (1 Thess 3:13), and says that the dead and living righteous will rise to meet Messiah in the air as he descends and they will return to earth in his victory procession (1 Thess 4:16-17).⁷¹ Rabbinic tradition interprets the *holy ones* of Zech 14:5 as the prophets of old, that is, righteous mortals who have been raised from death.⁷² Black notes that these rabbinic traditions suggest the description of the resurrection of the dead in the Codex

⁶⁸ See, e.g. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 32-33. Other uses of this psalm in Christian messianic interpretation are given by Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 132ff.

⁶⁹ Schmidt ["Kritik," 455-6] notes the emphasis on the war's being Yhwh's in vv.2,5-6.

⁷⁰ In regard to Zech 9-14, see chapter VII § I, where it is noted that Yhwh and the Davidic shepherd-king are conflated in their actions (11:10), in the actions against them (11:12-13; 12:10), and in their being (12:8).

⁷¹ The verb ἀπαντάω: *to go out to meet, to encounter* [Liddell & Scott, *Lexicon*, 77]. It can have the sense *to meet and return with someone*, as at its only other NT occurrence (Acts 28:15).

⁷² RuthR 2; EcclR 1.11.1; SongR 4.11.1.

Reuchlinianus Targum to Zech 14:4.⁷³ Certainly, the ancient traditions associating the resurrection with Zech 14:4 might suggest that the קדשים of Zech 14:5 are the resurrected righteous.

(4) The parallel between the two passages is confirmed by the apocalyptic midrash *Otot ha-Mashiah*, from the mid-first millennium, which cites Ps 110 and Zech 14:3 together in the context of the final deliverance of Jerusalem by the Lord and Messiah ben David.

And the Holy One (blessed be he) needs nothing for the battle, but to say to him [Messiah ben David], *Sit at my right hand* [Ps 110:1]. And he [Messiah ben David] will say to Israel, *Stand firm, and see the deliverance of the Lord which he will accomplish for you today* [Ex 14:13]. Thereupon the Holy One (blessed be he) fights against them, as it is said, *And the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations as he fights on a day of battle* [Zech 12:3] (*Otot* 8:4).

Such an interpretation of Ps 110 shows the way to understanding its surrounding psalms in terms of the proposed eschatological timetable. Ps 107 begins with thanksgiving for Israel's ingathering from the latterday exile subsequent to the messiah's 'cutting off' (107:1-3). The remainder of the psalm describes sorrows that would have attended exile (vv.4-32), divine justice according to a nation's deeds (vv.33-38) and Yhwh's kindness in eventually redeeming them (vv.39-43). Ps 108, a David psalm, might be the Messiah's petition and sword-song. He praises Yhwh (vv.2-6[1-5]), requests his aid in deliverance (v.7[6]), announces the divine oracle of victory over enemies (vv.8-10[7-9]), beseeches aid once more, exclaiming that if God, who previously rejected them, now goes with them, they shall surely triumph (vv.11-14[10-13]). Ps 109, another David psalm, might be regarded as a pre-battle ritual curse on the evil leader of the assembled nations, the ראש על-ארץ רבה (Ps 110:6), much like the pre-conflict curse on Satan and his lot at 1QM 13. The voice of the curse would be that of Israel, or the Messiah, speaking on Israel's behalf. The situation is that which precedes a battle: *words of hatred surround me* (v.3). The curse then follows, pronouncing against the evil king of the invading nations a list of disasters blood-chilling in its scope (vv.6-15). This is succeeded by a list of unkindnesses which the evil king and his people have perpetrated against Israel (vv.16-20). The petitioner then implores Yhwh's assistance for his distressed situation (vv.21-26). He concludes that Yhwh will save him in a way that all will acknowledge, and he will praise Yhwh for his deliverance (27-31). Such an interpretation of Pss 107-109 as precursory to the final eschatological conflict is supported by 4QPs^f,

⁷³ Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 149. The traditional association of Zech 14:4 with the resurrection is discussed in chapter V § II.4, where the Codex Reuchlinianus passage is also cited.

which contains Pss 107-109, followed by three eschatological lyrics: 'Apostrophe to Zion' which refers to Zion's enemies cut off on every side; 'Eschatological Hymn' which describes the destruction of the wicked and earth's end-time fecundity; and 'Apostrophe to Judah' which describes Judah's latterday rejoicing.

After Ps 110's description of the advent and conquest of the heavenly David, the Hallel group (Pss 111-118) might represent the paeans of praise to the conqueror.⁷⁴ This is how they are interpreted in the Talmud.

The prophets among them enacted that the Israelites should recite it [the Hallel] at every epoch and at every trouble – may it not come to them! – and when they are redeemed, they will recite it for their deliverance (Pes 117a).⁷⁵

The Hallel is followed by the massive acrostic Ps 119, which is the prayer of a repentant who has strayed far from Yhwh, has been disciplined, and now returns to him, by obedience to Torah (vv.175-6). This might indicate the repentance of the tribes of Israel scattered in all the world, an idea supported by its shepherd imagery (v.176) which, as was noted earlier, is the central image for scattered Israel. In spite of being scattered among hostile heathen (vv. 23, 87, 134, 161), the exiles have not forgotten Yhwh's Torah (v.176). They therefore prepare to return to Zion when he seeks them. This theme continues into the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134), which depict exiled Israel making pilgrimage to Zion (Pss 120-121) to celebrate the Feast of Sukkoth in Jerusalem (Pss 122-134), under the rule of the Davidic *mashiah* (Ps 132).

Psalm 132: The Messianic Reign.

This psalm has already been considered in chapter IV. We mention it again at this point only to emphasize that its depiction of the Davidic king regnant, implied in the prayer at the end of the first strophe that Yhwh not reject his *mashiah* (v.10), followed by the corresponding blessing at the end of the second strophe (vv.17,18), provides the natural conclusion to the foregoing messianic psalms, and sums up many of their themes. The king is reigning from Zion, his ultimate destination as foretold in Pss 2:6ff; 45:7,18 [6,17]; 72:8ff; 89:28[27]; and 110:2. His hardships on Yhwh's behalf

⁷⁴ The term 'Hallel' (or 'Egyptian Hallel', because Ps 114 celebrates the Exodus) is properly applied to Pss 113-118, most of which (but not Ps 114 or 118) feature the term הלל־יה. Bazak has argued that these psalms (113-118) display considerable internal evidence that they have been redacted as a single literary unit ["The Six Chapters," 182-91; "The Set," 91-93]. Nonetheless, it is probably fair to regard Pss 111 and 112 as introductory to the main Hallel collection. They also bear the הלל־יה heading, and Wilson suggests that MT Pss 111-117 are structured as a coherent unit [Editing, 126-7].

⁷⁵ Messianic interpretation of the Hallel appears also at PdRK 22.2; 27.5.

are overcome and remembered (132:1). Yhwh's covenant with David which in Ps 89 appeared to be abrogated, is reaffirmed (vv.11,12,17,18).

Summary.

The messianic psalms seem to display a progression of theme which accords with the latterday events of Zech 9-14 and fits in with our earlier suggestions concerning the Psalms of Asaph and the Songs of Ascents. Ps 45 represents the king as a bridegroom coming to Daughter Zion. Ps 72 represents his initial rule over all the earth. Ps 89 represents the premature termination of his kingdom, or his rule, or his life, or all three. Ps 110 represents his appearance, possibly from above, to destroy his enemies and conquer the earth. Ps 132 depicts the victorious Davidic king regnant on Zion.

<i>Psalms</i>	Ps 45.	Psalms of Ps 50	Ps 72	Asaph Pss 73-83	Ps 89	Ps 110	The Hallel. Pss 111-118	The Ascents Pss 120-34 & Ps 132
<i>Zech 9-14.</i>	Bridegroom -King comes to Daughter Zion.	Gathering of scattered Israel to Jerusalem	Temporary messianic <i>malkut</i> .	Hostile nations gather against Jerusalem	The King cut off.	Rescue by King Messiah	Praises of messianic victory; the hero's welcome.	Ascent of Israel and all nations to Sukkoth on Zion in messianic <i>malkut</i> .

The feasibility of the Psalter's redactor envisaging such a pattern is confirmed by its similarity not only to the themes of Zech 9-14, but to similar patterns in other early Israelite messianic and apocalyptic texts. The NT represents Jesus as initially coming, gaining a widespread following in Galilee, being killed and ascending to heaven, after which Israel is exiled and then regathered before he returns from above to establish his unopposed reign in Jerusalem. The apocalyptic midrashim featured in Appendix I feature a similar pattern except that, instead of one messiah's ascending and returning, two separate figures, ben Joseph and ben David, fulfil the initial and final messianic roles. If these two figures are regarded as essentially one, a possibility for which there is some evidence,⁷⁶ a picture emerges which is yet more like the one proposed here.

⁷⁶ The personae of the Ephraimitic and Davidic Messiahs are conflated in a number of texts. John's Gospel twice refers to Jesus as 'son of Joseph' (1:45; 6:42), the first of these occurrences being in the context of a messianic confession. It never refers to him as 'son of David,' and its crowds disallow his messiahship because, unlike the synoptic crowds (Mt 12:23; 15:22; 20:30-31; 21:9,15; Mk 10:47; 11:10; cf. Mt 1:1,6,17; Lk 3:31), they doubt his Davidic ancestry (Jn 7:42). Thus this writer was clearly aware of traditions regarding a Davidic Messiah, and must have known of them also within Christian circles, yet, without denying them, he presents Jesus as a 'Joseph' Messiah, and the 'Ιουδαῖοι, the Judahites as his deadly foes (5:16; 7:1). This may suggest that he regarded Jesus as both an Ephraimitic and Davidic Messiah in one, while his own sympathies were with the Ephraimitic tribes. (Some commentators have suggested that the Ephraimitic bias of John's Gospel indicates the author's Ephraimite or Samaritan origins [Buchanan, "Samaritan Origin," 149-75; Bowman, "Unnamed Feast of John 5:1," 45-47; Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," 161-98.]). At PR 36 and 37 the Ephraim [ben Joseph] Messiah's sufferings are described with an allusion to Ps 22:16[15]: *because of their sins your tongue will cleave to your jaws*. Thereafter Ps 22:16[15] is applied to ben David and he is addressed as 'Ephraim'. The same midrash also gives to ben Joseph functions elsewhere attributed to ben David: he will destroy his enemies by the breath of his mouth (37.1), and have universal dominion

Messiah appears to Israel, sets up an initial kingdom, is slain, and then reappears to destroy the hostile nations and establish his *malkut* in Jerusalem.

Finally, it should be added that the idea of Messiah returning to heaven is not essential to our proposed programme in the Psalter. Ps 110 might be taken as simply representing earthly conquest without a descent from above. However, it should be noted that there is evidence of early Israelite belief that messiah would descend from heaven.⁷⁷ There are also texts which speak of his return to heaven⁷⁸ and his coming

(36.1). The distinction between the two figures is so blurred, and the conflation so blatant, that one feels the author intended to suggest that the two messiahs are actually one. Likewise PirM 5:2-3 seems to depict a dying ben David, and later PirM 5:41-5 has a dying King Nehemiah the Messiah, possibly a pseudonym of ben Joseph, as it is at Otot 7:7-11 and SefZ 41. The same conflation occurs in the traditions regarding Ps 92:11[10]. All MSS of PRE 22a, except the Venice one, refer Ps 92:11[10] to Messiah ben Joseph. However, the Venice MS and MidTeh 92.10 interpret it of Messiah ben David, but cite Dt 33:17, the blessing on the Joseph tribes which predicts a coming Ephraimite hero. And the Venice edition of PRE 22a has the Davidic Messiah leading the Joseph tribes. In addition, the traditions about messiah's disappearance may also suggest an underlying monomessianism behind the figures of ben Joseph and ben David. PR 15.10; PdRK 5.8; SongR 2.9.3; and Num 11.2 all note that messiah will disappear for forty-five days, during which time Israel will be exiled in the wilderness, the period being calculated in each case from Dan 12:11-12. Other texts similarly refer to this 45-day wilderness period, calculating it from the same biblical text, but regard the period as that between the death of Messiah ben Joseph and the final coming of Messiah ben David (OtotM 7:12-8:2; PirM 5:45; cf. AgM 27-34). The only discrepancy between the two forms of the tradition is the number of messiahs, which might suggest that an older monomessianic tradition, like that of Baal's disappearing in the underworld, has been expanded to feature two distinct messiahs, one suffering and one conquering. Indeed, we seem to return here to the fact, noted previously, that Israel's eschatology seems like a teleologised version of a cosmogony little different from that of Ugarit.

⁷⁷ The idea is, of course, widespread in the NT (cf. eg. Mt 24:30; 26:64; Mk 14:62; Rev 1:7). But see also 4Ezra 13:3; bSanh 98a, PirM 5:1, and NRSbY 27, which, like Rev 1:7, apply Dan 7:13 to messiah. Likewise, NumR 13.14 applies Dan 7:14 to messiah. See also the texts cited in the second footnote following.

⁷⁸ The idea is central to NT messianic belief (see eg. Jn 6:62; Acts 1:11, 22). But there is considerable evidence for the idea outside Christian literature. At TNaph 5:6-7, Joseph catches a great black bull and ascends into the heights. At NRSbY 25 Messiah ben David is rejected by Israel and returns to God. In addition, the passages cited in the following footnote, in which Messiah returns from heaven, imply his having previously gone there.

back again.⁷⁹ Similarly, there is evidence of the possibly related idea that he would initially be revealed to Israel and then hidden before effecting the final deliverance.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Again the idea is common in the NT (Jn 14:2-3; Acts 1:11), but also exists outside Christian literature. PssSol 18:5: καθαρίσαι ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ . . . εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Gray ["The Psalms of Solomon," 651n, in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II:625-652] comments, "The term ἀνάξις here used, if we might press the force of the Greek, would imply a 'bringing again' or 'bringing up' of a pre-existing Messiah." The reference may be to the return of David or the restoration of his line, but the possibility of Messiah's departure and return can also be read in the phrase. At 2ApocBar 30:1-3 Messiah is to return in glory when the time of his *parousia* is fulfilled, after which the dead will rise. Most commentators seem to regard this as indicating a return to, rather than from, heaven (Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II:498; A. F. J. Klijn, "2 Baruch", 615-52 in Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 631; Brockington, "Baruch". The latter makes it explicit with additions: "And it shall come to pass after this, when the presence of the Messiah *on earth* has run its course, that he will return in glory *to the heavens*: then all who have died and set their hopes on him will rise" [857; Brockington's italics].). But it may equally be understood as a return to earth, a scenario which accords better with the subsequent resurrection of the dead. For the idea of the resurrection occurring at Messiah's departure is, as far as I am aware, unknown elsewhere, while much other literature envisages it occurring at Messiah's advent, or during his presence on earth (eg. 4Q521.1.2.12 [Vermes, "Qumran Miscellanea," 303-4]; 1Thess 4:16-17; Rev 20:4-5; AgM 34-40; Otot 8:1-9:1; SefZ 49; PirM 5:45-49; 6:2-4; *Ma'aseh Daniel* (BHM, 117-130), 128.). SibOr 5:256-9 describes a second Joshua (ὁ ἡλιὸν ποτε στήσεν φωνήσας ῥήσει τε καλῇ) who will come again from heaven to where he spread upon the fruitful wood his hands. Although the passage has been considered a Christian gloss, Kurfess [*Weissagungen*, 310] and O'Neill ["The Man", 87-8] regard it as authentic. The latter cites several reasons why it cannot be Christian, among which is the fact that, although a typological parallel between Joshua and Jesus is known in patristic literature, an actual Ephraimitic messiah is unattested anywhere in Christian writings ["The Man", 87-92]. If SibOr 5:256-9 is not Christian, then there is less reason why the fragment at SibOr 3:95 should be so: *All shall obey him who descends again into the world*. At NRSbY 25-27, Messiah ben David is revealed, is rejected by Israel, and withdraws, after which the 'King Messiah' appears suddenly to Israel. The two figures should probably be equated, as elsewhere in rabbinic literature, David being the royal paradigm *par excellence*. Justin represents the Jew Trypho admitting belief in two messianic advents [*Dial.* 49]. More generally, WisdSol 3:1-9 holds that the souls of all the righteous dead, including presumably a dead messiah, are in the hand of God until the time of their visitation (ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν), when they shall judge and rule nations.

⁸⁰ There is the above-mentioned tradition of the forty-five days of Messiah's disappearance at PR 15.10; PdRK 5.8; SongR 2.9; NumR 11. See also Targum Jonathan on Mic 4:8: 'And you, Messiah of Israel, who have been hidden away from the sins of the congregation of Zion, the kingdom is destined to come to you' [Levey, *Messiah*, 92]. A similar idea is probably encountered at bSanh 98a where Messiah is sitting among the lepers of Rome, bandaging their sores until the time of his appearing, and at SefZ 24, where he is bound in prison in Rome until the time of his appearing to Israel.

IX. The Wilderness of the Nations.¹

Having investigated the isolated peaks formed by the royal psalms, we complete the map of the broad terrain by identifying those psalms which might represent the latterday exile, depicted in Zech 13:7-14:2. If the king's affliction is represented by Ps 89, and the divine deliverance by Ps 110, then the parallel with the eschatological programme of Zechariah would suggest that the latterday exile falls in between. I would therefore suggest that the redactor may have represented the exile by Book IV of the Psalter (Pss 90-106). We shall therefore examine the psalms of Book IV in sequence with this hypothesis in mind, giving particular attention to the themes of wilderness exile, guilt and forgiveness, and ingathering.

The Book IV Psalms.

The Psalms of Book IV seem to be divisible into two large groups, Pss 90 to 100 and Pss 101 to 106. The first of these is demarcated by the *למשה* ascription which heads Ps 90. As no other personal ascription occurs until *לדוד* Ps 101, this ascription might be regarded as heading all Pss 90-100. This is certainly how ancient commentators regarded it. Origen claims to have learned this tradition from Jewish sources.

. . . having my interest in some of the oracles aroused by Jullus, the patriarch, and through one of those who were termed wise men among the Jews, I heard that through the whole book of the Psalms, beginning with the first and second, those Psalms which in the Hebrew have no title, or which have a title but not the name of the writer, belong to the author whose name stands at the head of the last preceding Psalm that has a title. Speaking on these matters he used at first to assert that thirteen Psalms belong to Moses. But, from what I heard² . . . their number is eleven. Later I enquired of one they account a wise man and was told that the number is eleven, of which the 89th [ie., MT 90] begins, *Lord thou hast been our refuge from one generation to another*.³

He then proceeds to list all the psalms as far as Ps 100. Similarly Jerome, also acquainted with Jewish interpretation, held that Moses wrote Pss 90-100, because anonymous psalms are to be attributed to the author last named.⁴ Origen's claim that this is a Hebrew idea is confirmed by MidTeh 90.3, which states, 'Moses composed eleven Psalms appropriate to eleven tribes.' It then connects Pss 90-95 with Reuben, Levi, Judah, Benjamin, Gad, and Issachar, and concludes, 'from here on reckon them

¹ Ezk 20:35.

² There is a lacuna in the MS. here.

³ English translation from Tollinton, *Selections*, 96-97. The original text is in *Selecta in Psalmos* (Lommatzsch, *Origenes Opera*, xi. 352-54).

⁴ *Ep. 140 ad Cyprianum*.

out for yourself.' Of course, Mosaic authorship of Pss 90-100 is unlikely, if only because Ps 95 consciously addresses a post-exodus generation and Ps 99 refers to Samuel. But the point is that interpreters have long recognized that, firstly, Pss 90-100 are a group with one heading, and, second, that Moses is a central figure in them. Modern scholarship endorses this. One principle which Wilson derives from his study of the headings of the Psalms and other ancient semitic literature is that lack of psalm-heading indicates a tradition of combination,⁵ a principle which, for him, binds Pss 90-99 together as one group.⁶ Likewise, D. M. Howard regards Pss 90-100 as a coherent group, which, by thematic and linguistic analysis, he further subdivides into Pss 90-92 and 93-100. Based on what he calls 'close lexical correspondences' and the 'almost identical structure and content of 95.6b-7c and 100.3b-c,' he concludes that Psalms 95 and 100 'form an inclusion around the Kingship group in 96-99'.⁷ He then suggests that this group, Pss 96-99, 'stands as the "center" of Book IV, both positionally and thematically'.⁸

The Moses theme which occurs with the first word of Book IV is prominent throughout the whole book. As Tate notes, it 'seems to be the "Moses Book" in the Psalter'.⁹ He is mentioned by name seven times (90:1; 99:6; 103:7; 105:26; 106:16, 23, 32), including three times with Aaron (99:6; 105:26; 106:16), whereas elsewhere in the Psalter he appears only once, also with Aaron (77:21). Another closely related theme in this book is that of the wilderness wanderings or exile. Wilson calls the group Mosaic 'because of the title of Psalm 90, the use of the old divine names El Shadday and El Elyon, references to Moses and Aaron, the Exodus wanderings and other thematic correspondences.'¹⁰ Book IV, as shall be seen below, also has many verbal allusions to the ancient Song of Moses, which also seems to refer to experiences of exile (Dt 32:19, 26, 35, 39).¹¹ It has therefore been suggested by a number of commentators that, as Tate says, 'The Moses-wilderness themes in these psalms suggests very strongly that the collection reflects the "wilderness" of the exile and post-exilic periods.'¹² That a period later than the actual desert wanderings is

⁵ Wilson, *Editing*, 199.

⁶ Wilson, *Editing*, 177-9.

⁷ Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, 207.

⁸ Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, 217.

⁹ Tate, *Psalms*, 530.

¹⁰ Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 75-6, in McCann, *Shape and Shaping*, 72-82.

¹¹ For the antiquity of the Song and Blessing of Moses (Dt 32 and 33), see Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 25. Given Widengren's observance that scattering was an established motif of divine or royal displeasure in ancient Near Eastern thought, it is not necessary to regard the apparent references to threat of exile in Dt 32 as later interpolations ["Yahweh's Gathering," 227-45].

¹² Tate, *Psalms*, 530.

indicated by these psalms is confirmed also by the headings at LXX Ps 95:1 [MT 96]: *When the house was being built after the captivity*; and LXX Ps 96:1 [MT 97]: *For David, when his land was being settled*.

Apparently then the redactors of Book IV were, by reference to the wilderness wanderings, indicating metaphorically a later exile. But could it have been, not the Babylonian exile, but the latterday exile of Ezk 20:35-38, Zech 13:7-14:2, and Hos 2:16[14]? Several points seem to support such a conclusion. First, the broader sequence of Psalms seems to depict already an earlier exile and ingathering in Books II and III. Likewise Ps 85:2[1] refers to the reversal of Jacob's captivity. Second, the pronounced ultimacy of preceding psalms, and of the whole finished Psalter, would make such an interpretation likely. For instance, the events of the Babylonian desolation, no matter how grievous, did not match the cosmic scale of the invasion depicted in Ps 83. Third, the frequent 'wilderness' language in these psalms, although no doubt appropriate to any exile, would be particularly appropriate to the future one, which Ezk 20:35 locates in the **מדבר עמים**.

The second main group of Book IV is Pss 101-106. Wilson suggests that these have a 'repentance' theme.

The Exile is the result . . . not of Yahweh's weakness but of Israel's sin and disobedience (90:7-8; 106:6-42). Like Isaiah in the temple, Israel in the presence of Yahweh is forced not only to acknowledge his holiness but must also confront the reality of its own guilt. Any hope of restoration must be based on Israel's admission of guilt and repentance before God. For this reason, the fourth book concludes with (1) a call to integrity in Psalm 101 ("I will study the way that is blameless. When shall I attain it?"); (2) a lament that acknowledges Yahweh's continuing kingly power and calls for mercy on his distressed people (Ps 102); (3) a thanksgiving psalm that celebrates Yahweh's kingship and the outpouring of divine mercy in forgiveness of sin (Ps 103:8-14); (4) praise for Yahweh's sustaining power (Ps 104); (5) a history of Yahweh's gracious deeds in behalf of Israel (Ps 105); and (6) a psalm that rehearses Israel's consistent failure to respond to Yahweh's gracious acts with loyalty and obedience, which is a confession of sin ("Both we and our ancestors have sinned; we have committed iniquity, have done wickedly," 106:6).¹³

Such a theme is an appropriate finale to a group of psalms representing an exile. For, according to ancient biblical theology, there can be only one ground for Israel's banishment, that is, disloyalty to Yhwh (Dt 31:19-29; 32:15-25). It would be unthinkable that they could be shattered and exiled for no good reason. And therefore the necessary prerequisite to their restoration is repentance, after which they will be

¹³ Wilson, "The Shape of the Book of Psalms," 140-141 in *Int* 46:129-142.

gathered again to their land (Dt 30:1-5). The prelude to the ingathering is signified, typically, by two psalms which by language and by the Chronicler's ascription are connected with the Asaphites, the *mazkirim*-prophets of ingathering.¹⁴ As a result, this group of psalms, which begins with a vivid depiction of wilderness-exile, closes with the characteristically Asaphite cry, *Save us, Yhwh our God, and gather us from the nations* (Ps 106:7). We now proceed to look at each of these psalms in turn.

Psalm 90.

This psalm evokes the desert wanderings of the exodus, not only by the **למשה** heading which belongs to it particularly, but also by the language and imagery of the whole lyric. The reader senses that its author was surrounded by a generation dying in futility. At the command of God, **אנוש**, man in his frailty,¹⁵ crumbles to powder (v.3). God is eternal, man ephemeral, and the years of human life speed by in futility (v.4, 10). People are like grass which sprouts for a day and is mowed down (v.5). Such a corporate sense of the brevity and futility of life seems to reflect a generation waiting to die. The second section of the psalm (vv.7-12) explains this situation as resulting from the anger and punishment of God (vv. 7-12). He gazes upon the people's iniquities; their days pass away beneath his wrath (vv.8,9). The power of his anger is incomprehensible (v.11), and his judgment is inescapable. All this is appropriate to the exodus generation, who were condemned by God to die in the wilderness because of unbelief (Num 14:21-35). The psalm concludes by requesting that God return to favour them (v.13) and repay them with good for the evil he has given, so that even these seemingly futile years might bring their own reward (vv.14-17). One is reminded of Robinson Crusoe, who, at the end of his long exile for youthful disobedience, found his lands had accrued vast profit. Or maybe it is like a tree which, after a season of barrenness, puts forth new growth, not in spite of the barren period, but because of it.

Specific linguistic terms connote the desert wandering, bearing resemblances to the Song of Moses (Dt 32), the blessing of Moses (Dt 33), and other passages from Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch. The idea of God as man's **מַעֲרֹךְ** (v.1) occurs elsewhere only in Dt 33:27 (**מַעֲרֹכָה**), in the following psalm (91:9), and in Ps 71:3,

¹⁴ See chapter III for the linguistic elements which Pss 105 and 106 share with the main Asaph collection. Ps 105:1-15 and 106:1,47-48 are substantially the same as the psalmic passages in 1Chr 16:8-22 and 16:35-36 respectively. Nasuti notes the resemblance between these and the main body of Asaph Psalms and calls them 'deutero-Asaphic' [*Tradition History*, 80, 91, 190, *et passim*]. Brooke also notes that they display evidence of Asaphite traditions ["Psalms 105 and 106," 274].

¹⁵ That is, deriving the term from **אנוש**, *to be weakly, sick* (BDB, 60).

the two former passages also emphasizing God's eternity. The term יְמוֹת occurs only in this psalm (v.15) and in Dt 32:7, in both instances in parallel with the poetic term שְׁנוֹת. The verb שָׁבַע occurs both in this psalm (v.14) and Dt 33:23 in the sense of being *filled* with God's blessing.

The appropriateness of the imagery and language of Ps 90 to the desert wanderings has been recognized by commentators to such an extent that some have argued its Mosaic authorship. Delitzsch maintains:

There is hardly a literary monument of antiquity, which can so brilliantly justify the traditional testimony to its origin as this Psalm. Not only in respect of its contents, but also in respect of its literary form, it is thoroughly appropriate to Moses.¹⁶

And even those who doubt Mosaic authorship willingly admit Mosaic characteristics.

The Psalm is worthy of him, and at first sight its contemplation of the transitoriness of human life, its acknowledgement of suffering as the punishment of sin, and its prayer for the restoration of God's favour, seem appropriate enough to a time towards the close of the Wandering in the wilderness, and a natural utterance for the leader who had watched one generation of Israelites after another dying out for their faithless murmuring.¹⁷

So, whether it is Mosaic by authorship or only by ascription, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this psalm intentionally evokes the cry of the wilderness generation, dying in futility under God's curse for disbelief.

Psalm 91.

Several features of Ps 91 seem particularly appropriate to the exodus context established by the לְמֹשֶׁה heading and Ps 90. For instance, the promise to the God-fearer that though all around him die, he will simply observe the punishment of the wicked (v.7) might evoke the exodus generation dying in the desert. The promise of angelic protection, *lest you strike your foot against a stone* (v.12), is appropriate to a prolonged sojourn in rough terrain. Likewise, the promise of protection from different types of lion (שָׁחַל; כַּפִּיר) suggests a wilderness environment (v.13).

Several other points, less immediately obvious, strongly suggest a wilderness context for this psalm. First, like Ps 90, it has linguistic parallels with Dt 32.¹⁸ There is the use

¹⁶ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:2.

¹⁷ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 547.

¹⁸ These are noted by Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 554.

of the verb **חסה** (vv.2, 4) with the idea of taking refuge in God or gods (Dt 32:37). There is the striking use of **אברתו** and **כנפיו** in parallel at Ps 91:4 and Dt 32:11, a usage found nowhere else in the Bible. The description of angels bearing the believer in their hands (Ps 91:12) resembles the picture of the eagle bearing its young on its pinions (Dt 32:11), the verb in each case being a *qal* imperfect form of **נשא**. Ps 91:6 promises the godly protection from pestilence (**דבר**) and plague (**קטב**), while Dt 32:24 predicts fever (**רשף**) and plague (**קטב**) upon the rebellious. Ps 91:8 employs **שלם** in the sense of God's recompense of the wicked, as do Dt 32:35 and 41. Ps 91:9 and Dt 33:27 describes God as man's **מעון**, a usage occurring elsewhere only in the preceding psalm (90:1) and Ps 71:3. Ps 91:13 and Dt 32:33 exhibit a parallel usage of **תנין**, *dragon*, and **פתן**, *venomous snake*, a word-pair occurring nowhere else in the Bible.

Second, this psalm is connected with a desert context by its theme of protection from demons. Gaster notes of vv.5-6, 'the disasters which he lists are in fact specific demons believed to operate at specific hours. He commences with the "terror by night" because the Hebrew day began at the preceding nightfall.'¹⁹ Gaster identifies the *terror of night* (**פחד לילה**) with the nightmare, which he describes as a universal figure in folklore, and cites its occurrence in a Mesopotamian magical text.²⁰ He identifies the *arrow that flies by day* (**חץ יעוף יומם**) with the 'faery arrow' of pestilence and disaster.²¹ The phrase probably connotes the Canaanite god of pestilence, Resheph, who is described in an Ugaritic text as 'Resheph the archer'.²² A fourth-century BCE Phoenician-Greek bilingual inscription from Cyprus calls him 'Resheph of the arrow' and equates him with 'far-darting Apollo',²³ who hurled darts of pestilence upon the Achaeans at Troy.²⁴ This reference to faery arrows suggests another link between this psalm and the Song of Moses, which mentions Resheph by name (Dt 32:24; also Hab 3:5).²⁵ The *pestilence that stalks in darkness* (**דבר באפל יהלך**, v.6; cf. also **דבר חוות**, v.3) is, says Gaster, the demon *Deber*, whose name means, 'Reverse, Catastrophe'.²⁶ And the *destruction that ravages at noon* (**קטב ישוד צהרים**) is sunstroke, the demon of noonday heat.²⁷ Such an

¹⁹ Gaster, *Myth*, 770.

²⁰ Gaster, *Myth*, 770.

²¹ Gaster, *Myth*, 770.

²² *b'l hz ršp*. RS 15.134; C. Virolleaud, in CRAIBL 1952.30.

²³ *ršp hz*. Cook, *A Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (1905), #30.

²⁴ Iliad, 1.40.

²⁵ Gaster, *Myth*, 671.

²⁶ Gaster, *Myth*, 771. He derives the name from Akkadian *dab/paru*, 'thrust back'.

²⁷ Gaster, *Myth*, 770.

interpretation is confirmed by LXX's, δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ, (*from*) the demon of noonday. Similarly, NumR 12 states that קטב is a שד, demon. As direct influence from LXX to NumR is unlikely, it would appear that קטב was widely understood to be a demonic entity. Likewise, Aquila and Symmachus find references to demonic power indicated in the verbal form ישוד, which they apparently connect with שד. Finally, as if this nest of four demons in vv.5-6 was not enough, v.13, for the LXX translator, at least, features two more. He renders the פתן as βασιλίσκος, and the תנין as δράκοντα.

The demonological emphasis of the psalm is confirmed by its ancient uses in rites of exorcism. The Qumran text 11QPsAp^a consists of three unknown psalms followed by Ps 91. The text is badly damaged and the first three psalms are beyond reconstruction, but they seem to refer repeatedly to demonic subjects. The words תנין (Fr. A, line 4), והשדים (col. I, line 3) and לתהום רבה (col. III, line 7) are legible, and Ploeg plausibly reconstructs [השד]ים (Fr. A, line 9), בשאוןל תחתיה (col. IV, line 9) and similar terms.²⁸ Ploeg therefore suggests that 11QPsAp^a was designed for exorcism and protection against demons. So, if the Qumran sectarians regarded Ps 91 as appropriate for inclusion in an exorcistic liturgy, it suggests that they thought it would protect from demonic malice. Later traditions bear out this conclusion. In certain rabbinic texts it is called שיר פגועים, *song of the demons*, or שיר פגועים, *song of demoniacs*,²⁹ and it has been used by Judaism as a means of defence against demons.³⁰ In Christian liturgy it has long been part of the office of Compline, to request divine help against the perils of night, including demons.³¹

Ps 91 should therefore be regarded as promising protection from demons and monsters. It would therefore be most necessary if one were in the vicinity of demons. This is where it connects with the desert theme of the preceding psalm, for Semitic thought regards the lifeless desert as the demons' chief abode. Gaster comments on Dt 32:10 as follows.

²⁸ Ploeg, *Rouleau*, 130, 138.

²⁹ See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1135; Shebu 15b calls it 'שיר של פגועים', and some call it the song of plagues (פגועים); yEruv X,26c (bot) relates that they used to recite the שיר של פגועים in Jerusalem in the Temple when someone was threatened with insanity; ySabb VI 8b (top) calls it שיר פגועין; MidTeh to Ps 91.1 says Moses recited שיר של פגועים, which begins *He that dwells in the secret-place of the Most High*, when he ascended to the firmament.

³⁰ Ploeg, *Rouleau*, 128.

³¹ Ploeg, *Rouleau*, 128.

... the description of the desert, in which the infant Israel was exposed as a *howling waste* reflects a common bedouin belief that the shrill winds and other eerie sounds which infest it are the shrieks of demons. Indeed, a popular Arabic designation of the wilderness is "Howl-land"; and it is significant that the Ancient Aramaic Version (Targum) renders the expression in our text by the words, "a place where demons and spirits howl."³²

Similar ideas may be detected in the Bible. In Isa 34:13-14, Edom's cities in the Arabah wilderness are to be destroyed and populated with לילית the *night-demon* and תנין, properly *jackals*, but sometimes a variant of תנין, *dragon* (cf. Ezk 29:3; 32:2), and rendered by LXX as σειρήνων, *sirens*, supernatural creatures which howl like jackals. Similarly, in the same passage LXX renders the obscure terms ציידים and אילים as δαίμόνια and ὀνοκένταυροι. Likewise in the ceremony for the Day of Atonement, the goat chosen for Azazel is carried away into the wilderness to Azazel, a demon or fallen angel (Lev 16:8, 10).³³

The use of Ps 91 in the NT's temptation narratives confirms and draws together all the themes of exodus, desert, Deuteronomy, and demons. Jesus is led into the desert (Mt 4:1; Mk 1:12; Lk 4:1). All his words, save the Matthean, Ὑπαγε, Σατανᾶ (4:10), are from Dt 6-8, in which Moses recounts the desert wandering and its purpose of testing and refining Israel.³⁴ Therefore Jesus is represented as meditating upon the desert wanderings of the exodus. One might say that he is in the desert, and the desert is in him. Into this double desert, who should appear, attended by 'wild beasts', but the prince of שררים himself, quoting Ps 91:11,12, no less, and thereby assuring Jesus angelic protection from every evil which might result from obeying his instructions (Mk 1:13; Mt 4:6; Lk 4:10-11). Jesus, however, avails himself of the psalm's promised angelic assistance, by withstanding rather than obliging the tempter (Mk 1:13). This complex NT passage amply illustrates the theme of this psalm: God will protect his faithful one banished in the desert from every demonic attack.

Thus Ps 91 shares the wilderness atmosphere of its predecessor and could likewise have been designed by the redactor to represent the latterday exile. But, unlike Ps 90, which is a prayer for redemption, Ps 91 is a promise of protection to the *dweller in the shadow of Shaddai* (91:1). Who, in the context of the end-time exile, might this represent? One answer might be that it represents any godly Israelite in exile. Another might be that it represents the nation as a whole, promising them protection even

³² Gaster, *Myth*, 320.

³³ BDB records it as the opinion of most commentators that עוזאל is a spirit haunting the desert [736].

³⁴ Mt 4:4 & Lk 4:4 = Dt 8:3; Mt 4:7 & Lk 4:12 = Dt 6:16; Mt 4:10 & Lk 4:8 = Dt 6:13.

during the exile.³⁵ Another answer might be that it represents the stricken and pierced king of Ps 89, who even in his afflicted state will receive divine protection from all evils. The NT's use of this psalm might suggest that such a messianic interpretation was not unknown in Second Temple times.

Psalm 92.

This psalm contains one image, the simile of mankind being like grass (v.8[7]), which evokes the characteristic wilderness atmosphere of Book IV. The full form of this simile, which mentions both the flourishing and the perishing of the grass, occurs in the Psalms only in Book IV (90:5-6; 92:8[7]; 103:15,16). Reduced forms of it occur in one other Book IV psalm (102:5[4],12[11]) and in Ps 37:2 and 129:6-7. Elsewhere in the OT it occurs only in desert contexts (2 Ki 19:26; Isa 40:6-8; Job 14:2). It is, of course, a particularly appropriate image to such a context. For where does one see grass sprouting and withering so well as in a desert wilderness? In well-watered grasslands, the growth and death of plants is imperceptible among the perpetually luxuriant verdure. But in dry lands grass flourishes, possibly following a brief shower of rain, and perishes, unconcealed by the coverage of new growth.

In general the psalm has the tone of a victory song. But what and whose victory might it celebrate? The idea that it celebrates the resurgence of the stricken king finds some support in rabbinic literature, which interprets messianically v.11[10]: *You have exalted like a reēm my horn*.³⁶ MidTeh 92.10 interprets it of Messiah ben David, as does the Venice edition of PRE 22a.³⁷ Other manuscripts of PRE interpret the passage of dying and rising Messiah ben Joseph.

But my horn hast thou exalted like that of a reēm: Just as the horns of the reēm are taller than those of all beasts and animals, and it goes to its right and to its left, likewise with Menachem ben 'Ammiel ben Joseph, his horns are taller than those of all kings, and he will gore in the future towards the four corners of the heavens. And concerning him Moses said this verse, *His firstborn bullock, majesty is his, and his horns are the horns of the reēm. With them he shall gore the peoples all of them, even*

³⁵ This is how Kirkpatrick understands it [*Psalms*, 553-4]. Form critical scholars are divided over the issue of whether many Book IV psalms should be classified as individual or communal. This stems from their interest in a psalm's origin rather than its finished form, and their various views on when and how an individual psalm can have a metaphorical communal referent. Kirkpatrick, who lived before Gunkel, had no such problems. He simply points out that Israel is often addressed in the singular in the Bible, and that the metaphorical link between individual and community is a common one, both in ancient and modern literature [*Psalms*, li-lij, 553n].

³⁶ The Hebrew term רֵעֵם *reēm* designates the aurochs. The animal may possibly be extinct, though there have been reports that some may still exist in the highlands of Kurdistan [Bodenheimer, *Animal*, 51, 102-4].

³⁷ Friedlander, *PRE*, 131n. For a fuller discussion of the MSS, see Friedlander, *PRE*, xiv-xv.

the ends of the earth (Dt 33:17). [With him are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and the thousands of Manasseh, as it is said: *And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh* (Dt 33:17).³⁸] All the kings will rise up against him to slay him, as it is said: *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers [take counsel together]* (Ps 2:2). And Israel who will be in the Land [will suffer] great trouble.³⁹

These traditions are admittedly late.⁴⁰ But there is evidence that the image of the horns of the *reēm* was already connected with a coming Josephite hero in biblical times. Moses' blessing on the tribes describes a coming Josephite conqueror, presumably Joshua, who is described as *בכור שורו* *his (Joseph's) firstborn bull* with *קרני ראם* *horns of a reēm* (Dt 33:17).⁴¹ The imagery not only denotes the conqueror's fierce vigour,⁴² but also emphasizes his descent from Ephraim, who was reckoned as Joseph's firstborn (Gen 48:13-20), and the general precedence of the Joseph tribes, who are said to have inherited the firstborn rights of Reuben and thereby to have had prominence even over Judah (1 Chr 5:1-2). Such imagery, *the horns of the reēm* and the *firstborn bull*, is used in the Bible of no other group.⁴³ After Joshua's time, it appears to have passed into the royal ideology of *bet-Ephraim*, if we may judge by the iron horns which the prophet Zedekiah ben Kenaanah sported before King Ahab (1 Ki 22:11; 2 Chr 18:10). It is surely plausible that the Ephraimites might have anticipated a coming Joshuanic antitype. Certainly, by the first century CE, the Samaritan remnants of Ephraim expected a messianic Joshua who was identified with resurrection and, presumably, death.⁴⁴ Later interpreters also speak of the Ephraimitic messiah with reference to the imagery of Dt 33:17.⁴⁵ Is it improbable that this Ephraimite imagery might have represented a dying and rising messiah at the time of

³⁸ This passage occurs only in the Venice edition (Friedlander, *PRE*, 131, n.7).

³⁹ *PRE* 22a. Friedlander's translation is on p.131.

⁴⁰ Pirqê de Rabbi Eliezer was redacted in the second or third decade of the ninth century CE from considerably older material [Friedlander, *PRE*, liii-liv].

⁴¹ The link between the two images, *firstborn bull* and *reēm*, may be more than mere contiguity in this verse. The Latin name for the aurochs or *reēm* is *bos primigenius* [Bodenheimer, *Animal*, 102-4]. This may indicate some ancient association of the aurochs with primogeniture, an association which may have been shared by, or derived from, the semitic cultures among which this animal lived.

⁴² The strength and untameableness of the aurochs is noted at Num 23:22; Job 39:9-12. Bodenheimer, *Animals*, 108, notes its ferocity.

⁴³ All the tribes of Israel are described as a *reēm* at Num 23:22, but the horns are absent, as is the *firstborn* terminology.

⁴⁴ Crown notes a messianic Joshua and resurrection tradition among the Samaritans. If, as he suggests, such beliefs created schism among the Dositheans in the first century CE, they must have been in existence among the Samaritans for some time previously ["Dositheans," 85].

⁴⁵ GenR 75:6; 99:2; NumR 14:1; MidTan 11:3 apply it to Messiah ben Joseph. PR 53:2 applies it to messiah non-specifically. Possibly the earliest evidence for the messianic interpretation of Dt 33:17 is the bull figure of 1 En 90, which commentators regard as a messianic symbol [Charles, *Enoch*, 258n; Isaac, "1 Enoch" (in Charlesworth, *Pseud.*, 1:5-89) 5; Milik, *Enoch*, 45; Torrey, *Apoc. Literature*, 112; "Messiah", 266].

the Psalter's redaction?⁴⁶ If so, the *horns of the reēm* imagery in this psalm, and the *horns* and *firstborn* of Ps 89:25,28 [24,27], might indicate some early allusion to such a figure.

It might be objected that the Psalter cannot have both an Ephraim and a Davidic Messiah. But there is evidence that the two figures are regularly conflated from at least the time of John's Gospel; perhaps, if they arose from an originally monomessianic tradition, they always were.⁴⁷ Perhaps the hand that shaped these psalms employed Ephraimitic messianic imagery to express the dying and rising aspects of the king, and Davidic language to express his royal authority. But however this imagery arose, the rabbinic tradition may well be close to the redactor's intention in decoding the *horns of the reēm* imagery to indicate a resurging messiah with Ephraimite characteristics. Such a figure, Davidic with Ephraimitic qualities, would well represent the Solomonic figure who earlier gathered the Josephites in Zech 9:11-13; 10:6-12 and the Asaph Psalms (cf. Ps 80:2-3[1-2]).

Psalm 93.

This psalm inaugurates a group ending with Ps 100 which celebrates Yhwh's kingship.⁴⁸ There is no explicit mention of the exile or exodus theme in this psalm. However, as Tate notes, there is a link with exodus traditions in the characteristic phrase יהוה מלך, *the Lord reigns* (93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1).⁴⁹ The first reference in biblical history to the kingship of Yhwh is in the Song of the Sea: יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד (Ex 15:18), so the theme does appear to have exodus connections, and would therefore be appropriate in a collection representing the latterday exile.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ It is interesting to surmise how this idea became associated with the Ephraimite Messiah. One suggestion might be that it arose from analogy with his eponymous tribes, who were slain by the Assyrians, but were expected by the prophets to revive.

⁴⁷ See the first footnote in the conclusion to chapter VIII.

⁴⁸ Howard [*Structure*] has made an extensive structural and linguistic analysis of Pss 93-100, and concludes that they form a logical, coherent unit within Book IV (216). He argues that Ps 93 introduces the section, while 95 and 100 bracket the heart of the section in Pss 96-99. Although Ps 94 is thematically dissimilar to other psalms in the section, it still shows significant ties with them (201-6). The close similarities between this group of psalms are widely noted by commentators (see, ie, Cohen, *Psalms*, 307; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 474ff.)

⁴⁹ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 530.

⁵⁰ Indeed, several modern commentators would date this psalm not long after the Song of the Sea. Howard regards it as dating from probably the tenth, but possibly as early as the twelfth, century BCE [*Structure*, 48-55]. Lipinski, [*La royauté*, 163-72], Shenkel ["Ps 93,5", 401-2] Dahood [*Psalms*, II:339], and Kraus [*Psalms*, II:816] propose a tenth century date.

Now if Book IV of the Psalter is to be interpreted eschatologically, as we have suggested the wider context requires, then the repeated references to Yhwh's kingship and the worship of the nations within Psalms 93 to 100 (96:7-13; 96:10; 97:1; 98:2-3,7-9; 99:1-3; 100:1) would suggest that they, excepting Ps 94, represent God's eschatological *malkut*. This is how rabbinic tradition regards them.⁵¹ Rashi, not generally given to eschatological interpretation, says on this psalm, '*The Lord reigns. It speaks of the future. The world is established. In his kingdom the earth shall rejoice.*'⁵² As to why the *malkut* should be celebrated in the midst of Israel's latterday exile, two reasons seem feasible. The group may be an anticipation of the eschatological kingdom of God, which actually appears later with the advent of the heavenly conqueror at Ps 110. Such an anticipatory passage would be consistent with the genre of apocalyptic from Zech 9-14 on.⁵³ Or it may be that these psalms signify that knowledge of Israel's God, and possibly even the eschatological *malkut*, has begun among the nations during the period of Israel's latterday exile.

Psalm 94.

No explicit references to the wilderness occur in this psalm. But then the latterday exile, like the Babylonian exile, is a wilderness only metaphorically. What is actually envisaged is an exile among hostile nations (Ezk 20:35; Zech 14:2), and this psalm is appropriate to such a setting. As commentators rightly note, it depicts Israel oppressed by foreigners.⁵⁴ The opening petition asks that the *Judge of the earth* requite the proud and wicked (vv.1-3). The evildoers crush Yhwh's people and his inheritance, expressions denoting that 'it is the community as such (v.5) and not one portion of it, which is oppressed.'⁵⁵ Likewise, the psalmist's statement that God disciplines nations, implies that the evildoers referred to are not faithless Israelites, but hostile foreigners (vv.7-10). Moreover, the situation described is one not of foreign invasion, but exile among foreigners. They pick off the weak and defenceless, the widow, the orphan, and the wanderer such as the exiled Israelite (v.6). Their power derives from corrupt authority⁵⁶ and law, by means of which they kill the innocent, not in battle, but by

⁵¹ Cohen, *Psalms*, 307.

⁵² ר' מלך. יאמרו לעתיד: אף תכון תבל. במלכו תשמח הארץ: (Rashi, *ad loc.*).

⁵³ Anticipation and recapitulation are recognized features of apocalyptic literature. See Black, *Rejected and Slain*, 54; Collins, *Combat Myth*, 43ff.

⁵⁴ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:40; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 566.

⁵⁵ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 566.

⁵⁶ Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:45, maintains that 'כִּסֵּא [v.20] is here the judgment-seat, just as the Arabic *Kursi* directly denotes the tribunal of God (as distinguished from his royal throne).' This is certainly likely, though a reference also to the royal throne cannot be excluded. Corrupt judiciary and monarchy tend to go together, and the term may function metonymically for any seat of power.

legal process (vv.20-21). The result of this is that Israelites, the only feasible referent for the **לע** of v.8,⁵⁷ are perplexed with the discrepancy between God's omniscience and justice and maintain that he has forsaken his people.

The statement that God disciplines nations implies that 'Israel, as well as the nations (v.10) is being divinely educated.'⁵⁸ Thus their exile results from their misdeeds (v.10). Indeed the **גבר** of v.12 whom the Lord disciplines is probably Israel as much as the psalmist himself.⁵⁹ Both he and his nation have been disciplined by Yhwh. Both he and they came close to death at the hands of the oppressors, but called to Yhwh for help and were delivered (vv.16-19). For this he blesses Yhwh, and states that all who are willing to be corrected by the Lord's teaching will be protected from the troubles of exile, until such time as God requites the heathen nations for their mistreatment of Israel (vv.12-13,22-23). For the Lord will not forsake his people, but ultimately avenge them, and, since they are his *inheritance*, restore them to all they are entitled to by virtue of his covenant (vv.14,23).

Psalm 95.

After an exhortation to praise Yhwh for his universal sovereignty and his care for Israel, the psalmist warns contemporary listeners against the sin of the desert generation. He recalls the events at Massah and Meribah (Ex 17:7; Num 20:13), and describes that generation's rebellion (vv.8-10), which resulted in Yhwh's forbidding them entry to his rest (vv.10-11). The psalmist's purpose in this reminiscence is to warn contemporary listeners against the error of their ancestors. For *today* they confront the same temptation as came to their ancestors, that is, to harden their hearts on hearing God's voice (v.8). The psalmist warns against this, lest the same fate befall them as befell their ancestors. As Davies notes, 'the abrupt ending is to be interpreted as a threatening innuendo. . . . Israel's behaviour in the desert met with a condign punishment, and the inference is that similar unbelief in the present will meet a corresponding fate.'⁶⁰ This psalm therefore regards its hearers, whatever their actual

⁵⁷ So Delitzsch, *Psalms*, III:41; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 568.

⁵⁸ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 569.

⁵⁹ Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 570. Albrektson [*Studies*, 126-8] and Gottlieb ["Das kultische Leiden," 121-6] likewise suggest that that the **גבר** of Lam 3:1 represents not an individual but Zion and her people as a collective. Provan, however, thinks it unlikely, in view of the feminine representation of Zion in Lam 1-2 [*Lamentations*, 80]. But might not some kind of harmonisation be possible, wherein the **גבר** represents the nation, the **בני ישראל**, while the feminine Zion represents the city, desolate and widowed, bereft of husband and children (Lam 1:1,5,15,16,18)?

⁶⁰ Davies, "Psalm 95," 195.

circumstances, as being like the Exodus generation, wandering in the desert and potentially in danger of rejecting God and being rejected by him.

The earliest surviving interpretation of this psalm, at Heb 3:7-4:11, connects it with the latterday exile of the eschatological programme in just such a way as we have suggested. The writer addresses Israelites whose faith in Jesus's messiahship is wavering (3:14) and reminds them that their ancestors failed to inherit God's rest and fell in the desert because of disbelief (vv.17-19). He warns them that if they similarly disbelieve, the same fate, that is, perishing in the desert, will overtake them (3:12; 4:1-11). We noted earlier that the NT, in accord with the eschatological programme which we identified in Zech 9-14, expects a prolonged exile to follow the death of Jesus (Lk 19:41-44; 21:20-24), just as exile is to follow the striking of the Zecharian latterday king (Zech 13:7-14:2).⁶¹ The writer of Hebrews, in warning his contemporaries of their impending fate, seems to hold the same view. The prooftext which he cites to warn them about the impending exile is this psalm which warns Israelites of the post-wilderness generation not to repeat their ancestors' mistake (3:7-11, 15; 4:3, 7). This suggests that at least some Israelites of the first century CE, including this writer and his readership, understood this psalm as referring to the latterday exile.

Psalms 96.

This psalm, which apparently originated in a cultic context (v.8), contains no explicit references to exile or exodus. However it does contain the phrase יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ (v.10), which we noted in Ps 93 as occurring in the Song of the Sea and thus having exodus overtones. It also contains the phrase שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה שִׁיר חָדָשׁ (vv.1-2), which occurs only here and in Ps 98:1. The expression שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה makes its first appearance in the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:21; cf. 15:1). It occupies a prominent position in both texts, forming a threefold invocation at the beginning of the psalm and an inclusio around the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:1,21). This suggests that the psalm intentionally evokes the events of the exodus. However, this time a *new song* is to be sung, suggesting a new order of redemption, comparable with the redemption from Egypt, but greater. The idea of redemption does not exclude the exile theme. For the Egyptian redemption was followed by a desert period to purge Israel of the faithless before their entry to the land. Other details might support the idea that this group of psalms represents a latterday exile. The exhortation that Israel declare Yhwh's glory, wonders, and kingship among the nations (vv.3,10) is appropriate to an exilic setting,

⁶¹ See chapter VII.

as is the denunciation of foreign deities (vv.4-5), as in exilic Isa 46:1ff, and the exhortation to the 'clans of the nations' to ascribe glory and strength to Yhwh, worship in his Temple, and tremble before him (v.7-9). The psalm closes with the affirmation that Yhwh will justly judge the earth and its peoples. This recalls the theme of Yhwh's requital of the nations' maltreatment of Israel which closes Ps 94.

Psalm 97.

Some characteristic Book IV themes occur in this psalm. There is the יהוה מלך proclamation. As at its previous occurrences, Yhwh's dominion over the entire earth is in view (vv.1-9). As in Ps 96, idols are declared worthless. In the light of the appearance of God's kingdom their worshippers feel foolish, and even the deities of the nations are to worship the Most High (vv.7,9). As in Ps 93, such language may either anticipate the coming latterday *malkut* or indicate that it has already begun to spread among the nations during Israel's latterday exile. Divine protection and deliverance from the power of the wicked is promised to Yhwh's faithful (v.10), a theme noted earlier in Pss 94 and 96 as appropriate to the latterday exile. The righteous of Israel anticipate the dawning of divine light upon them (vv.11-12).

Psalm 98.

Characteristic Book IV themes occur in this psalm also. There is the refrain, *Sing to Yhwh a new song*, which hints at a new order of redemption. This is intensified in v.4: *Shout to Yhwh all the earth*. The theme of Yhwh's rule over the nations also reoccurs. He has revealed his יְשׁוּעָה and צְדָקָה to all nations (vv.2-3), and has revealed himself as the God of Israel (אֱלֹהֵינוּ; v.3). Yet although Yhwh's rule and salvation have been revealed to the nations, a final manifestation is yet to come, for his future advent in judgment is still expected: *he comes to judge the earth, he will judge (future: יִשְׁפֹּט) the world with justice* (v.9). This hiatus between initial revelation and consummation might suggest, as in Pss 93 and 97, that knowledge of God has begun to spread among the nations during the period of Israel's latterday exile. The nations and all creation are exhorted to rejoice and praise him both for his self-revelation and for his coming judgment (vv.5-8).

Psalm 99.

The desert theme is alluded to also in Ps 99. It begins with an acclamation of Yhwh as universal king and a call to praise the one who has done justice in Jacob, and bow before him (vv. 1-5). The latter part of the psalm centres on a reminiscence of the great prophets of Israel's early history.

*Moses and Aaron were among his priests, and Samuel among the callers on his name,
they were callers to Yhwh and he answered them.
In the pillar of cloud he spoke to them; they kept his testimonies and the decree he gave them.
Yhwh, our God, you answered them; a forgiving God were you to them, but punishing their misdeeds (vv.6-8).*

The 'pillar of cloud' refers to the desert wandering, of course. It applies directly to Moses and Aaron. Samuel also heard Yhwh in the Shiloh sanctuary, but there is no mention of the pillar of cloud. It may be that, in Samuel's case, it refers to the *shekhinah* dwelling in the sanctuary, or, as Tate suggests, to the column of smoke from the altar. But probably there is no need to push the reference to such detail.

There has been some discussion over the interpretation of verse 8b. The problem is that an assertion of God's forgiveness seems out of place juxtaposed with a statement that he punished misdeeds. Thus Symmachus, Kimhi, and more recently Whybray, have taken the pronominal suffix of *עלילותם* as an objective genitive.⁶² However, it seems better to retain the simple reading of the MT, as above, and take v.8b as referring to the hard fact that God's forgiveness does not always include absolution from punishment. Forgiveness is given, to be sure, otherwise the relationship between God and believer would not be restored, but punishment is necessary so the misdoer learn the seriousness of his deed. This idea is familiar in the Bible. For instance, Nathan tells David that Yhwh has taken away his sin, yet predicts the sword against his house, the rape of his wives, and the death of his son (2 Sam 2:9-14). Or again, as Brueggemann points out in regard to this psalm, God is *the forgiver of wickedness, rebellion, and sin, yet not leaving the guilty unpunished* (Ex 34:7).⁶³ The idea is expressed in general terms by the Christian who wrote, 'When we are judged by the Lord, we are being disciplined so that we will not be condemned with the world' (1 Cor 11:32). So this psalm's reference to the desert generation seems to be similar to that of Ps 95 in warning the psalmist's contemporaries that while God will ultimately forgive the nation, he will also punish their misdeeds, presumably in the desert exile.

Psalm 100.

This psalm, the last lyric in this section of Book IV, forms a doxological conclusion to the theme of Yhwh's universal kingship which began with Ps 93. 'Yahweh is assumed

⁶² Kimhi, Comm. on Ps 99; Whybray, "Wrongdoings," 237-239.

⁶³ Brueggemann, *Message*, 149.

to be Lord of all the world and all lands and peoples should come before him with homage and praise. . . . Yahweh is the great king over all the earth, although this psalm does not directly say so.⁶⁴ All peoples are exhorted, as in 98:4, to *Shout to Yhwh* (v.1) and serve him as his worshippers. They are to acknowledge not only that he is the true God, but also that Israel are his people, his especial creation, and his flock (v.3). This psalm therefore concludes the theme that knowledge of Israel's God has spread among the nations during their latterday exile. There are no explicit references to the exile. However, as Tate notes, the image of the divine shepherd links this psalm to the Moses-Exodus-Wilderness features in Pss 90-99.⁶⁵

Psalm 101.

With Ps 101 begins what Wilson regards as the repentance section of Book IV.⁶⁶ Allen is surely right in noting that this psalm needs to be taken as a complaint if the question in v.2 is to be given its full force.⁶⁷ The speaker, whom the לָדוֹר heading might indicate to be a royal figure, beseeches Yhwh to delay no longer in coming to him (v.2), for he has assiduously performed his covenant share of royal obligations to maintain justice and integrity in the state. He has kept his heart and deeds in line with Yhwh's way (vv.2-3), he has promoted the righteous and purged the civil body of evildoers (vv.4-8). The likely background to this fervent plea would seem to be, as Allen notes, one of distress.⁶⁸ What might be the relevance of such a psalm to the beginning of the repentance which leads to the end of the latterday exile? Might it not indicate the voice of the latterday representative of *bet*-David, possibly the same one as suffered in Ps 89? He protests that he himself is innocent and that, by means of the exile, he has purged Israel of undesirable elements. Yhwh therefore need delay no longer in vindicating him and hastening his great plan for Israel and the world to its conclusion.

Ps 102.

If Ps 101 might represent the Davidic king calling upon Yhwh to act swiftly, then this its successor might represent a similar plea by Israel languishing in the wilderness-exile. The heading, תַּפְלָה לַעֲנִי, would suit such an application. Of course, it might also indicate the king himself, as at Zech 9:9. There need be no contradiction in this, for the suffering king is the representative head of the suffering nation. But the

⁶⁴ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 536.

⁶⁵ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 538.

⁶⁶ Wilson, "The Shape of the Book of Psalms," 140-141 in *Int* 46:129-142.

⁶⁷ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 4.

⁶⁸ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 4.

condition of the speaker, described in vv.1-12[1-11] in terms appropriate to one perishing in the wilderness, would suggest that the primary reference might be to Israel. He is like the smoke and embers of sear and withered grass (vv.4-5,12 [3-4,11]), a lonely desert owl among the ruins (vv.7-8[6-7]), a lengthening shadow (v.12[11]). This situation comes from the anger of Yhwh (v.11[10]) who, while the speaker is daily wasting away (vv.5-6[4-5]), is by contrast forever enthroned (v.13[12]). The speaker exhorts Yhwh to show them mercy and rebuild Zion for now the time has come (vv.13-17a [12-16a]). Foreseeing the consummation of the eschatological programme, he announces that Yhwh will reveal himself in his glory and that peoples and kingdoms will gather in Zion to worship him (vv.16-23 [15-22]). He closes by stating that Yhwh has broken his, that is, Israel's, strength halfway through his life and requests that this be reversed and that their future generations will be established before Yhwh (vv.24-29 [23-28]).

Psalm 103.

This psalm is an exhortation to praise Yhwh for his forgiving loyal love, both to the speaker and to the exodus generation. As regards the speaker, Yhwh has forgiven his sins, cured his sicknesses, redeemed him from the disintegration of the grave (שחת), crowned, satisfied, and rejuvenated him (vv.1-5). The exodus generation are recalled in vv.6ff, with reference to the wilderness metaphor of humans perishing like grass (vv.15-16). Yhwh saved them from oppression (v.6). He revealed his nature to Moses, and even the mass of Israelites saw his deeds of power (v.7). This revelation displayed his essential characteristics of compassion, generosity, patience, and loyalty (v.8), the theophany at Ex 34:6-7 possibly being in mind. And even though Israel merited wrath they did not receive what their deeds deserved (vv.9-10). Instead, his חסד prevailed (גבר, v.11) over their rebellion and after punishing them he removed, like a father, his punishment from them, פשעינו signifying probably the punishment or result of rebellion and not the mere deed (v.12).⁶⁹ His loyal love still continues with those who fear him (v.17-18). Universal creation is therefore exhorted to praise him (vv.19-22). As regards this psalm's significance in the context of the Psalter, the לדוד ascription may suggest that the speaker is the Davidic king. Vv.3-5 may be taken as his thanksgiving for Yhwh's forgiving the iniquities of *bet*-David, and redeeming it from the sickness and שחת represented in Pss 88 and 89. Vv.6-18 may be his meditation upon not only Yhwh's mercy to the exodus generation, but also his impending mercy

⁶⁹ So Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 17.

to the eschatological wilderness-exiles, whom he has not treated according to their iniquities, and whose punishment will soon be removed.

Psalm 104.

Brooke suggests that Pss 104-106 have been selected to form a conclusion to Book IV.⁷⁰ Certainly this psalm takes up quite a different theme from its predecessor, in celebrating Yhwh's creator benefits to his creatures. It begins by acknowledging his greatness: he established the heavens and they serve him (vv.1-4). It then turns to his work on earth. He founded the earth and the seas, establishing their contours and boundaries. He sends fresh water to sustain animals, birds, and vegetation (vv.5-13). He provides food for man and beast and makes the sun and moon mark times and seasons (vv.14-23). All the multitude of life comes from him and he sustains it moment by moment (vv.24-30). The singer closes with ascription of praise to Yhwh: may his creation ever glorify and please him, and may elements which resist his will be destroyed (v.31-35). The function of this paean of praise in its context in the Psalter is unclear. Wilson, who rightly notes the repentance theme of Pss 101-106 seems unsure of it, merely commenting that it is 'praise for Yahweh's sustaining power'. Certainly it does not seem to relate directly to the repentance theme. But perhaps it may be taken as affirming Yhwh's universal sovereignty which will enable him to deliver Israel from latterday exile and give them life as from the dead. And, as OT theology often connects the themes of creation and Yhwh's kingship,⁷¹ it may be a final reference to the themes which dominated Pss 93-100 and an anticipation of the coming *malkut*, when all nations shall ascend to worship Yhwh lest he withhold his life-giving rain (Zech 14:16-21).

Psalm 105.

The desert theme, and the related exodus theme, reoccurs in Ps 105, which celebrates God's gift of a land to Israel and the deeds of power by which he gave it. After the opening call to give thanks to Yhwh and proclaim his deeds among the peoples (v.1), there follows an exhortation to *remember his wonders* (v.5), for *his judgments [have been evident] in all the earth* (vv.5-7). Then follows a restatement of the *eternal covenant* to the patriarchs whereby Canaan was given them for their possession (vv. 8-11). Next the events of the exodus are described in detail (vv. 24-36), with emphasis on the divine acts of supernatural power which subdued the oppressing Egyptians. The next section deals with the desert period (vv. 37-45), again with an emphasis on

⁷⁰ Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106," 291.

⁷¹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 28.

the divine acts of power which redeemed and preserved Israel, which led to their possessing the lands of the nations (vv. 39-44). Finally, the psalmist concludes that the purpose for all this manifestation of divine favour and power was *so that* (בעבור) *they would keep his precepts and observe his instructions* (v.45). God's purpose was to found a holy people and to that end he gave them their land by acts of divine power.

What might be the purpose of this affirmation? None is explicitly given other than that these things are a basis for thanksgiving and praise (vv. 1-3). But there are clues to another. This psalm's references to the desert wandering are quite unlike earlier treatments of the same theme in Book IV, in Pss 90, 95, and 99, which emphasize Israel's sin and God's judgment. Ps 105 makes no mention of these things, suggesting it is not designed to serve the same admonitory function. Its emphasis on Yhwh's power and success in the redemption of Israel might therefore have been framed with the intention to comfort and encourage. In the context of the latterday exile this might serve to encourage Israel to expect that God will again look to his *eternal covenant* and take up his purpose for them, bringing them back from captivity by deeds of power so that they might indeed be a holy people before him, and not fail his purpose as before.

Psalm 106.

This psalm, the Psalter's most comprehensive and sustained confession of Israel's national guilt, forms a fitting conclusion to the latterday exile. Its representation of Israel's deep repentance opens the way for the appearing of God's יְשׁוּעָה. After a brief ascription of praise and a prayer for blessing on the speaker and all the faithful (vv.1-5), it launches into a confession of Israel's sin, rebellion, forgetfulness, cravings, idolatries, grumblings, abominable sacrifices, and more, in Egypt, Yam Suph, Horeb, Meribah, and the promised land itself (vv.6-39). Therefore Yhwh justly afflicted them by war and exile, and, like the figures of Pss 90 and 102, they wasted away (vv.40-43). But he continued merciful and rescued them from captivity when they cried to him (vv.44-46). Following this sustained recollection, they call again to be delivered from among the nations, that they may fulfil the purpose of their creation thanking and praising him. This signifies the end of the latterday wilderness-exile, and Book V opens with thanksgiving for the final ingathering (Ps 107:1-2) which precedes Israel's deliverance from all their foes (Ps 110).

Summary.

Book IV of the Psalms is distinguished by wilderness themes. It repeatedly refers or alludes to Moses and the wilderness wanderings. Some of its characteristic expressions, *יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ* and *שִׁירוֹ לַיהוָה*, recall the Song of the Sea (Ex 15). Its imagery of baleful creatures and withering vegetation are likewise appropriate to a desert context. At the same time, there seems to be a progression of thought within the collection: from sin through repentance to forgiveness, from despair to expectation of a new world order, from exile to ingathering. Such a collection would readily lend itself to being read as depicting the eschatological exile referred to in Zech 13:7-14:2. In that case, the eschatological programme in the Psalter would appear somewhat as follows.

<i>Psalms</i>	Psalms of Ps 45.	Psalms of Ps 50	Asaph Ps 72	Pss 73-83	Pss 89	Book IV Pss 90-106	Pss 110	The Hallel. Pss 111-118	The Ascents Pss 120-34.
<i>Zech</i> 9-14.	Bridegroom -King comes to Daughter Zion.	Gathering of scattered Israel to Jerusalem	Tempo- rary messi- anic <i>malkut</i> .	Hostile nations gather against Jerusalem	The King cut off.	Israel exiled in desert. Gather and return to Zion.	Rescue by heavenly King Messiah	Paeans of messianic victory; the hero's welcome.	Ascent of Israel and all nations to Sukkoth on Zion in messianic <i>malkut</i> . Includes royal Ps 132.

X. Conclusion.

I have attempted to demonstrate the plausibility of an eschatological programme underlying the Psalter. I suggested that the historical view of the Psalter as eschatologico-predictive is borne out by internal features of the Masoretic text. I then examined the Psalms of Asaph and the Songs of Ascents and suggested that they can be read as depicting two different kinds of gathering to Zion: the former depicts Israel gathering and threatened by gathering hostile foes; the latter depicts them gathering joyfully to an eschatological Feast of Sukkoth. I then examined passages in the prophets, particularly in Ezekiel, Joel, and Zechariah, which may reasonably be described as eschatological programmes. These appear to depict just such a sequence of gatherings as that in the Psalms of Asaph and Songs of Ascents. Many parallels of language, theology, and imagery support the connection.

The Asaph Psalms (Pss 50, 73-83).		The Ascents (Pss 120-134).
Ingathering of scattered Israel from exile.	Ingathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem.	Gathering of Israel and nations to celebrate Sukkoth on Zion.

I then examined in detail the eschatological programme in Zech 9-14. It appears to contain two motifs absent, or at best hazy, in the other prophetic programmes: a smitten shepherd-king and an ensuing exile. This makes the following sequence of events.

Ingathering of Israel under eschatological king (9:11-10:12).	Gathering of hostile nations against Jerusalem (12:3/14:1).	King dies. Israel exiled. (12:10-14; 13:7-9; cf. 11:4-17).	Israel regather. Divine rout of nations (14:2-15).	Nations ascend to worship at Sukkoth in Jerusalem (14:16-21).
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An examination of post-Zecharian eschatological texts showed that some such programme was also envisaged by later writers. I then examined the royal psalms and suggested that Pss 45, 72, 89, 110 and 132 could be read as depicting the various messianic motifs of this programme. I finally looked at Book IV of the Psalter and suggested it could be read as depicting Israel's eschatological exile. Thus the Psalter can be read as containing an eschatological programme similar to the Zecharian one, as follows.

<i>Psalms</i>	Ps 45.	Psalms of Asaph		Pss 73-83	Ps 89	Book IV Pss 90-106	Ps 110	The Hallel. Pss 111-118	The Ascents Pss 120-34.
<i>Zech 9-14.</i>	Bridegroom-King comes to Daughter Zion.	Gathering of scattered Israel to Jerusalem	Temporary messianic <i>malkut</i> .	Hostile nations gather against Jerusalem	The King cut off.	Israel exiled in desert. Gather and return to Zion.	Rescue by King and Messiah	Paeans of messianic victory; the hero's welcome.	Ascent of Israel and all nations to Sukkoth on Zion in messianic <i>malkut</i> . Includes royal Ps 132.

This hypothesis concurs with much modern research on the Psalter. It agrees with Forbes, Delitzsch, Childs, and Brennan in seeing an eschatological orientation in the final form of the Psalter. It agrees with the insights of Wilson, McCann, and Sheppard in recognizing the structural importance of psalm-headings, the centrality of the Davidic covenant theme, and the 'covenant crisis' in Ps 89. It also bears some resemblance to the work of the Uppsala school and Goulder in associating Pss 88 and 89 with the humiliation and affliction of the king, but it locates these events in the anticipated eschaton rather than in historical ritual. Indeed, if it is allowed that these rituals might have been not only cosmogonic but recosmogonic, that is, tending towards eschatological, then the parallels between such form critical views and the present hypothesis become closer still.

This hypothesis also harmonises with the ancient commentators, both Jewish and Christian. It accords with the general eschatological interpretation of the Psalms found in the ancient translations, in the Qumran literature, in the NT, and in rabbinic and patristic literature. It also accords with their view that the Psalter is purposefully shaped. But it agrees with them not only in general matters, but also in particular interpretations of individual psalms. The suggestions I have made as to the place of certain psalms or psalm-groups in the eschatological programme, such as Pss 2, 45, 69, 72, 82, 83, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 109, 110, the Hallel, and the Songs of Ascents, including Ps 132, are supported by the ancient commentators' referring to them in connection with the same or similar events.

This is not insignificant. These commentators lived at a small remove from the time of the Psalter's redactor(s), and are likely to have been in receipt of traditions concerning the purpose of his work. And even if they were not, are they not likely to have been able to ascertain the purpose of the collection at least as well as we, who live some 2 000 years later in an alien culture? Indeed, it might be maintained that this hypothesis not only concurs with ancient interpreters, but confirms that their interpretations are rational and consistent rather than merely spurious allegorisations. For instance, if Messiah is the redactor's intended referent of Ps 110, then those who cite it in that regard are not allegorising in doing so. Likewise, if the redactor intended Ps 87 to represent the temporary kingdom of the Messiah before his cutting-off, then Midrash Tehillim is right in interpreting it of Messiahs ben Joseph and ben David. Or similarly, if he intended Pss 69 and 109 to refer to Messiah's opponents, then citing them of Judas is less gratuitous than at first appears (Acts 1:20).

Like the ancient commentators, this hypothesis also takes account of imagery, typology, and analogy in interpretation. These are the foundations of Israelite exegesis. As Maimonides wrote:

Know that the key to the understanding of all that the prophets, peace be on them, have said, and to the knowledge of its truth, is an understanding of the analogies [משלים], of their import, and of the meaning of the words occurring in them.¹

This hypothesis is therefore in accord with Israelite exegesis in regarding the Asaph psalms, with their holy war traditions, as typologically indicating the end-time conflict. Likewise, it regards the royal psalms as typologically indicating the anticipated future Davidic king, and the Songs of Ascents, with their Sukkoth traditions, as typologically indicating that feast's eschatological counterpart. It also takes the psalm-group headings, לאסף, לדוד, and שיר המעלות, as symbolic of all that each group represents.

This hypothesis also hints at a literary and theological explanation for the Elohist Psalter (Pss 42-83) in exactly its present scope and position. As in the Asaph Psalms, so in the rest of the Elohist Psalter, the predominance of the term *elohim* might suggest that Israel in the initial period up until the eschatological conflict are estranged from God and under his judgment and wrath. Similarly, the predominance of *Yhwh* after the Elohist Psalter might suggest that he is favourable to them in the period after the death of the king. It might take some rationalization to explain how God might be favourable during the eschatological exile. But however the details are explained, the hypothesis that the Psalter contains an eschatological programme opens the way to interpreting its peculiar use of divine names in a literary and theological manner in accord with ancient rabbinic traditions on the interpretation of these names.

Finally, this hypothesis offers some support for the parallel, perceived by ancient commentators, between the five books of the Pentateuch and the five books of Psalms. If, as I have proposed, Book II of the Psalter represents an exodus from exile, then it accords well with the principal theme of the second book of the Pentateuch. Book III of the Psalms is levitical, consisting entirely of Asaph and Korah lyrics, and ends in the possibly sacrificial death of the king.² It therefore accords well with the levitical

¹ *Moreh Nevukhim* 6b [Eng trans. in Maimonides, *Guide*, 10-11].

² The question of whether the Messiah's death is sacrificial is clearly disputable. But Deutero-Isaiah's עבד ידוד dies sacrificially (Isa 53:4-6, 10-12) and the writer of Zech 9-14 seems to have based his stricken shepherd on this figure, as was noted in chapter VII. Zimmerli suggests that the LXX may indicate a messianic understanding of Isa 53 [TDNT, V:676-7], while Jeremias discerns messianic interpretation of the עבד in Ben Sira and 1 Enoch [TDNT, V:686-7]. More recently, Puech

and sacrificial themes of Leviticus. Book IV takes place 'in the desert', which accords well with *Bemidbar*, the fourth book of the Pentateuch. Book V of the Psalter represents the final ingathering to worship Yhwh at Sukkoth in Jerusalem, a theme which corresponds with that of Deuteronomy, in which Israel are about to possess the land and there serve and worship Yhwh at the appointed feasts (Dt 11:31-16:16). I have hardly touched on the themes of Book I, but would suggest that it is in some sense foundational to the following four books, much as Genesis is foundational to the Pentateuch. Certainly, parallels of theme and imagery seem to exist between Book I and Genesis. Note, for instance, after introductory Pss 1 and 2, the 'morning/evening' theme of Pss 3:6[5]; 4:5,9[4-8]; 5:5:4[3]; and 6:7[6] which resembles Gen 1. Likewise, Ps 8, which tells how the 'paragon of animals' rules all creation, might correspond to Gen 1:26ff.

Clearly, further research is needed to substantiate this hypothesis. The following topics, in particular, invite investigation. First, there are lengthy sections of the Psalter which I have not discussed. In particular, it needs to be considered how the *לדוד* psalms might relate to this hypothesis. Their heading would seem to connect them with the house of David, which is how I have interpreted those few I have discussed (eg. Pss 101, 103, 108-110). They might therefore refer to the troubles and triumphs of that house and, in particular, of its eschatological son. This is how Kimhi regards them, as does Wilson later.³ A detailed study is required of their headings, language, poetics, thematic development, and imagery, in relation to this hypothesis. Related to this is the place of Book I in the Psalter. I have no suggestions to make about this, other than the feeling that it is somehow foundational to all the Psalter's themes, including the messianic ones (Pss 20-22). However, I would not exclude the

["Fragments d'un apocryphe," 449-501] and Brooke ["4QTestament of Levi," 83-100] have suggested that 4Q541 exhibits an individual and messianic interpretation of Is 52-53, dating from at least the second century BCE [Puech, 500]. See also TBen 3:1-8 where the Josephite Lamb of God 'as spotless for the lawless . . . will be given up, and as sinless for the godless . . . will die.' The reference to a Josephite Messiah suggests it is not a Christian gloss ["Lamb of God," 2-30]. Certainly PR 36 is not Christian, yet envisages Messiah's death as an atonement: 'The Holy One (blessed be he) made an agreement with him [Messiah ben Ephraim]. He said: Those whose sins are stored up with you will bring you into an iron yoke and make you like this calf whose eyes are dimmed [with pain]. They will force your spirit into a yoke, and because of their sins your *tongue will cleave to your jaws* (Ps 22)'. A Christian gloss is even more unlikely in Alshekh's *Marot ha-Zove'ot* where we find the following comment on Zech 12:10: 'They shall lift up their eyes unto me in perfect repentance, when they see him *whom they have pierced*, that is, Messiah ben Joseph. For our rabbis of blessed memory have said that he will take upon himself all the guilt (*כל אשמות*) of Israel, and shall then be slain in the war to make an atonement (*לכפר*), in such a manner that it shall be accounted as if Israel had pierced him.'

³ See Kimhi's commentaries on, for instance, Pss 52-54. Wilson's views on this issue are noted in chapter II.

possibility that it refers to past events, from the redactional standpoint, either historical, like the Babylonian exile, or mythical.

Nor have I touched in any depth upon the *Psalms of the Sons of Korah* and the significance of their heading. My feeling is that they have something to do with the redemption of the righteous from Sheol on the day when *the earth is changed and the mountains fall into the heart of the sea* (Ps 46). This is supported by the only other OT reference to these figures, Num 26:11, which tells how the sons of Korah did not go down alive to Sheol as did their father and his following. Thus they might represent redemption from Sheol, a conclusion consistent with the group's many references to the underworld and with midrashic interpretation. Redemption from Sheol might signify, in the Psalter, the resurrection of the dead, either as a metaphor for Israel's renewal, or, more literally, in reference to the cut-off king of Ps 89 or to the end-time resurrection at the appearance of the heavenly conqueror.

The significance of the psalms following the Songs of Ascents should also be considered. Pss 135 to 137 seem to be a kind of *codetta* to the Ascents,⁴ while the Halleluyah Pss 146-150 appear to be a grand *coda* to the entire collection.⁵ But it is interesting to note that the intervening לָדָוֹר collection (Pss 138-145) seems to feature yet another attack upon the messianic throne, in Pss 140 to 144. Violent evildoers threaten the Davidic speaker, with military force (140:1ff.; cf. v.8[7]; 144:1,10); they set a trap for him (140:6[5]; 141:9; 142:4[3]); they pursue him (142:7[6]; 143:3). However Ps 144 anticipates the rescue of the speaker, David (114:10), from the sword and the rout of these hostile foreigners (v.7). And Ps 145 appears to celebrate Yhwh's deliverance as a *fait accompli* (v.19) and proclaims the eternity of his kingdom (vv.12-13), for now, at last all opposition has been permanently crushed. These psalms may suggest that the Psalter's redactor anticipated as many as three eschatological attacks upon Jerusalem, an idea not unknown to other early Israelite writers.⁶

⁴ This is the view of Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen*, 74-5; and Wilson, *Editing*, 225. The latter notes the verbal and thematic correspondences between Pss 134 and 135-7.

⁵ Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 74.

⁶ Rev 19:19 and 20:7-9 describe two future foreign attacks, in addition to the period of foreign domination in the author's time, in which his Messiah was killed. MidTeh 118:12 and 119:2 say that Gog and Magog will go up against Jerusalem three times. Sa'adya also has three attacks [*Kitab al-'Amanat* VIII.vi. (Rosenblatt, *Beliefs*, 305-7)]. In the first, Messiah ben Joseph dies; in the second, Messiah ben David conquers; and the third is overwhelmingly crushed by ben David.

The significance of the Elohist Psalter (Pss 42-83) requires further investigation. I have an intuition that it may have to do with Jacob's struggle with the Angel of Yhwh at the Jabbok. The name *Jacob* is predominant in this collection and is scarce elsewhere in the Psalter, while the reverse is true for the name *Israel*. The man Israel may be a figure for the nation, who, in the end-time, will struggle with God until God prevails (גבר Pss 103:11, 117:2) over them. Likewise, the parallel between the five books of Psalms and of the Pentateuch needs to be further investigated. That may lead in turn to a better understanding of Book I. Finally, the place of the *Hallel* (Pss 111-118) in connection with this proposed eschatological programme invites further investigation.

Wilson has compared the Psalter, with its individual lyrics joined in purposeful sequence, to an oratorio.

Rather than a hymnbook, the Psalter is a symphony with many movements, or better yet an oratorio in which a multitude of voices – singly and in concert – rise in a crescendo of praise. While each individual composition may stand on its own – as an aria from the *Elijah* – the whole has an integrity that cannot and must not be ignored.⁷

The metaphor is felicitous. But it reflects the very point on which, I feel, Wilson's hypothesis falls – that is, in viewing the Psalter historically rather than eschatologically. It would have been better compared not to Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, with its historical themes, but to Handel's eschatological *Messiah*.

⁷ Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter," 72-82, in McCann (ed.), *Shape and Shaping*, 82.

Appendix I. Apocalyptic Midrashim.

This appendix contains translations of six eschatological programmes from rabbinic texts dating from the early to late first millennium CE: *Aggadat Mashiah*, *Otot ha-Mashiah*, *Sefer Zerubbabel*, *Asereth Melakhim*, *Pirqê Mashiah*, and *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai*. My purpose in translating these documents was to provide evidence that ancient Israelite interpreters also recognized an eschatological programme like that which we identified in Zechariah 9-14. These do not pretend to be critical editions of texts like *Sefer Zerubbabel* and *Pirqê Mashiah*, as that would be a major undertaking, far beyond our present requirements. Of the two lengthiest texts, *Asereth Melakhim* and *Pirqê Mashiah*, only the relevant sections are translated. The other four texts are translated in full. As far as I am aware this is the first rendition of them in English. The other eschatological midrash to which reference is made in the thesis, that of Saadya Gaon in his Arabic treatise *Kitab al-'Amanat*, is available in English.¹

In these texts, as in other haggadic literature, Edom is frequently identified with Rome. This usage is first attested in the period just after Bar Kokhba, if two attributions of it to R. Meir can be accepted.² Its origin is uncertain, although Baron notes the views that it derives from Herod, a descendant of Edomite proselytes, who was virtually a Roman vassal, or that it is connected with the tradition that the Edomites burned the First Temple (1Esd 4:45) as the Romans burned the second.³ After the Amoraic period the name became synonymous with Christian Rome and thence with Christianity in general.

¹ Rosenblatt, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*; Altmann, *The Book of Doctrines and Beliefs* (abridged).

² At yTaan 1:1 (64a), R. Meir reads מִשָּׂא דְמִדָּה for מִשָּׂא רִמָּא of Isa 21:11; at PdRK 7:11 he reads רִמָּא of Isa 34:7 as *Romans*. Meir was a fourth generation (c. 140-165) *tanna* [Danby, *Mishnah*, 800].

³ Baron, *Social and Religious History*, II:152.

Aggadat Mashiah

This midrash is found in the commentary on Num 24:17 in *Leqah Tob* (*Pesiqta' Zutarta*), which was compiled by Tobiah b. Eliezer in 1097 and re-edited by him about a decade later.¹ Our text is from Buber's edition of *Leqah Tob*.² Jellinek and Horowitz also have this midrash. Their texts are also from *Leqah Tob*, though presumably not from Buber's edition, as they differ in having אומות העולם *nations of the world* where Buber has הכנענים *the Canaanites*.³ Dalman is probably correct in rejecting the former variant.⁴ For Messiah ben Joseph, when he initiates the ingathering of Israel, does not destroy all the *nations of the world*, but only the usurpers of Israel's land. On the other hand, the more likely term, *Canaanites*, would seem to signify an intentional analogy between Joshua's conquest of the land and its reconquest by his descendant, Messiah ben Joseph.⁵ Apart from minor differences in spelling there are no other textual variants. I have used Jellinek's title, and enumerated the sentences of Buber's text.

Jellinek recognizes that *Aggadat Mashiah* is an older work incorporated into Tobiah's book.⁶ Several points suggest that it is of considerable antiquity. First, the writer's evident desire for the destruction of Rome (2.17-19) suggests an origin before the fall of Rome in 455 CE. Second, it is simpler than other apocalyptic midrashim. For instance, it covers the same sequence of events as *Otot ha-Mashiah*, composed probably between 540 and 630 CE, but is less detailed. Jellinek suggests that this indicates its antiquity: 'Unter den verschiedenen, in diesem Bande mitgetheilten messianischen Sagen ist diese Hagada die älteste, weil einfachste.'⁷ Third, it mentions the biblical figure Gog, but not Armilus, the evil Roman emperor of later midrashim. While Gog frequently appears in pre-geonic texts, Armilus is rare. He does not occur in the Talmud, and of the two targumic references to him one is doubtful.⁸ Monstrous Armilus is a star figure in apocalyptic texts of geonic times – he was too choice a

¹ So Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 389-90.

² Buber's edition has been reissued in 2 volumes (Jerusalem, 1959). The original date and place of printing are not given, but this seems to be the Wilna edn. of 1880, referred to by Dalman, *Der leidende*, 10. The text of this midrash is found in vol. 2, pp. 258-9 (קכט).

³ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, III:141-3; Horowitz, *Beth 'Eqed Agadoth*, 56ff.

⁴ Dalman, *Der Leidende*, 10.

⁵ Messiah ben Joseph is said to be a descendant of Joshua at Tg. Ps-Jon to Ex 40:11; Sa'adya, *Kitab al-'Amanat*, VIII:5.

⁶ *Bet ha-Midrash*, III:xxviii.

⁷ *Bet ha-Midrash*, III:xxviii.

⁸ The reference to Armilus at Tg. Isa 11:4 is not found in the best editions [Chilton, *Isaiah Targum*, xxxi-ii, 28]. The other reference to him is at Tg. Jon. to Dt 34:3.

character to omit – and his absence from this midrash may suggest that it originated early in the first millennium, before the figure of Armilus developed.

אגרת משיח

דרך כוכב מיעקב תאנא משום רבנן שבן שבע דוד בא בו שנה ראשונה אין בה מזון כל צורכה. 2 שנייה חצי רעב משתלחין. 3 שלישית רעב גדול. 4 ברביעית לא רעב ולא שובע. 5 בחמישית שובע גדול. 6 ויצמח כוכב ממזרח והוא כוכבו של משיח והוא עושה במזרח ט"ו יום ואם האריך הוא לטובהן של ישראל. 7 ששית קולות ושמעות. 8 השביעית מלחמות. 9 ומוצאי שביעית יצפה למשיח ויתגאו בני מערב ויבואו ויחזיקו מלכות בלא אפים ויבאו עד מצרים וישבו כל השביה. 10 ובימים ההם יקום מלך עז פנים על עם עני ודל והוא מחזיק מלכות בחלקלקות. 11 ועל אותו הזמן אמר ישעיה לך עמי בוא בחדריך וגו'. 12 אמרו חכמים רבי חיה צוה לדורו כשתשמעו שעמד מלך עז פנים לא תשבו שם שהוא גוזר כל מי שהוא אומר אחד הוא אלהי העברים יהרג. 13 והוא אומר נהיה כולנו לשון אחד ואומה אחת והוא מבטל זמנים ומועדים ושבתות וראשי חודשים ומבטל תורה מישראל שנאמר ויסבר להשנייה זמנין ודת ויתיהבון בדיה עד עידן עידנין ופלג עידן. 14 עידן שנה. 15 עידנין תרתי. 16 ופלג עידן חצי שנה. 17 אמרו לו מרי להיכן ננצל אמר להם לגליל העליון שנאמר כי בהר ציון ובירושלם תהיה פליטה. 18 ובהר ציון תהיה פליטה והיה קדש:

19 **ומחץ** פאתי מואב. 20 אמר ר' הונא בשם ר' לוי מלמד שיהיו ישראל מקובצין בגליל העליון ויצפה עליהם שם משיח בן יוסף מתוך הגליל והם עולים משם וכל ישראל עמו לירושלם לקיים מה שנא' ובני פריצי עמך ינשאו להעמיד חזון ונכשלו. 21 והוא עולה ובונה את בית המקדש ומקריב קרבנות והאש יורדת מן השמים והוא מוחץ כל הכנענים. 22 ויבא על ארץ מואב והורג את חציה והשאר שובה אותה בשביה ומעלים לו מס ועושה באחרונה שלום עם מואב שנאמר ושבתי את שבות מואב וישבו ארבעים שנה לבטח אוכלים ושותים ובני נכר אכריכם וכורמיכם.

23 **וקרקר** כל בני שת. 24 שהוא מקרקר כל הכנענים שנקראים בשת. 25 שנאמר כי שת לי אלהים זרע אחר. 26 ואחרי כל כלי זאת שומע גוג ומגוג ועולה עליהם שנאמר יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נסדו יחד על ה' ועל משיחו. 27 והוא נכנס והורג אותו בחוצות ירושלים שנא' והיתה עת צרה וישראל

⁹ The כל is repeated in Buber's text.

רואים כך ואומרים אבד משיח ממנו ושוב לא ישוב משיח אחר וסופדים עליו ארבע משפחות שנאמר וספדה הארץ משפחות לבד משפחת בית דוד לבד. 28 והקב"ה יוצא ונלחם עמם שנאמר ויצא ה' ונלחם בגוים ההם וההרים ימושו והגבעות תמוטנה והר הזתים יבקע מחציו. 29 והקב"ה יורד עליו וישראל נסים ונמלטים שנא' ונסתם גיא הרי. 30 וזות תהיה המגפה. 31 וישראל גולים אחרי כן למדברי אגמות לרעות במלוחים שרשי רתמים מ"ה ימים וענני כבוד מקיפין אותם ושם ישראל יהו נחבאים וכל מי שיש בלבו הרהור רע על הקב"ה העננים משליכין אותו והכנענים הורגין אותו. 32 ומישראל הרבה יצאו אל הכנענים ואותם לא יהיה להם חלק עם ישראל לעולם הבא אבל אותם העתידים להתענות במלוחים מ"ה ימים ולקץ מ"ה ימים בת קול להם רדו לבבל שנאמר ובאת עד בבל שם תנצלי. 33 ובת קול מפוצצת שנית לכו לאדום ועשו שם נקמתי שנאמר ונתתי נקמתי באדום ביד עמי ישראל וישראל באין לרומי ובת קול יוצאה שלילית עשו בה כאשר עשה יהושע ביריחו והם סובבים את העיר ותוקעים בשופרות ובפעם השביעית מריעים תרועה שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד ונפלה חומת העיר והם נכנסים בתוכה ומוצאין את בחוריה מתים ברחובותיה שנאמר לכן [יפלן] בחוריה ברחובותיה וגו'. 34 ואחרי כן הם קובצין את כל שללה וישראל מבקשין את אלהיהן ואת דוד מלכם ומיד נגלה עליהם מלך המשיח והוא אומר להם אני הוא מלך המשיח שהייתם מחכים והוא אומר להם שאו את הכסף ואת הזהב והם נושאים אותו ועולים שנאמר שפעת גמלים תכסך. 35 ובת קול רביעית יוצאה ואומרת קול קורא במדבר. 36 ובת קול חמישית אומרת לא יהיה שם אריה ובת קול ששית אומרת אתן במדבר ארז שטה והדס. 37 ובת קול שביעית מכרזת נחמו נחמו עמי ואליהו מבשר לישראל מלך אלהיך ובת קול שמינית מכרזת ואומרת דברו על לב ירושלים. 38 בת קול תשיעית אומרת פתחו שערים ויבוא גוי צדיק. 39 ובת קול עשירית אומרת שאו שערים ראשיכם. 40 ויחיו המתים שנאמר יחיו מתוך נבלתי יקומו. 41 ואז יתקבצו הגליות שנאמר והיה ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול. 42 ואז יתקיים דרך כוכב מיעקב. 43 וכן יהי רצון מלפני אבינו שבשמים שיתקיים פסוק זה ונשא נס לגוים ואסף נדחי ישראל וגו' בימינו ובימי כל ישראל:

תם אגרת משיח

Account of the Messiah.

A star goes forth from Jacob [Num 24:17]. It was taught in the name of our rabbis: In the week in which ben David comes, the first year [will have] no food, all [will be] privation. 2. The second [year], half famine will be sent.¹⁰ 3. The third [year, there will be] great famine. 4. In the fourth, neither famine nor plenty. 5. In the fifth, great plenty. 6. And a star will spring forth from the east, and it is the star of Messiah. And it remains in the east fifteen days, and if it lasts longer it [will be] for the benefit of Israel.¹¹ 7. The sixth [year, there will be] voices and rumours. 8. The seventh [year, there will be] wars. 9. And at the end of the seventh, it shines for Messiah. And the sons of the west will exalt themselves and they will go and seize kingship without a struggle and they will go as far as Egypt and take many captives.¹² 10. In those days a brazen-faced king will arise over an afflicted and needy people, and he will seize *kingship by trickery* [Dan 11:21]. 11. Concerning that time Isaiah said, *Come, my people, enter your chambers*, etc. [Isa 26:20]. 12. The sages said: Rabbi Hiyya commanded his generation, 'When you hear that a brazen-faced king has arisen do not remain there, for he will decree that everyone who says, "The God of the Hebrews, he is one!" will be killed.' 13. And he will say, 'All of us will be one tongue and one people.' He will abolish times and appointed feasts and sabbaths and new moon feasts. He will abolish Torah from Israel, as it is said, *And he will think to change the times and the law; and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time* [Dan 7:25]. 14. *A time* is one year. 15. *Two times* is two [years]. 16. *And half a time* is half a year. 17. They said to him, 'Master, where shall we go to be safe?' He said to them, 'To upper Galilee, as it is said, *For on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there will be those who escape* [Joel 3:5 (2:32)]. 18. *And on Mount Zion there will be those who escape, and it shall be holy*' [Ob 17].

19. *And he shatters the princes of Moab* [Num 24:17]. 20. R. Huna says in the name of R. Levi: This teaches that Israel will be gathered in upper Galilee. There Messiah ben Joseph will appear to them from the midst of Galilee, and they will ascend from there, and all Israel with him, to Jerusalem, to fulfil what is written, *And the forceful men of your people will lift themselves up to fulfil the vision, but they shall fail* [Dan 11:14]. 21. And he goes up and builds the sanctuary and offers sacrifices and fire falls from heaven. And he shatters all the Canaanites. 22. And he goes against the land of Moab and kills half of them and takes the remainder captive. They send him

¹⁰ Literally, *they will send*.

¹¹ For the meaning *remain* for נשאר, see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, II:1125.

¹² Literally, *and take captive all captivity*.

tribute and afterwards he makes peace with Moab, as it is said, *And I will restore the fortunes of Moab* [Jer 48:47]. Then they [Israel] will dwell forty years in safety, eating and drinking, *and the sons of foreigners will be your farm-labourers and vintners* [Isa 60:5].

23. *And he shall break down all the sons of Sheth* [Num 24:17]. 24. That is, he breaks down all the Canaanites who are called *Sheth*. 25. As it is said, *God has appointed [shath] for me another seed* [Gen 4:25]. 26. After all this, Gog and Magog hear and go up against them, as it is said, *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Messiah* [Ps 2:2]. 27. He [Gog] forces entry and kills him [Messiah ben Joseph] in the streets of Jerusalem, as it is said, *And there will be a time of trouble* [Dan 12:1]. Israel sees this and says, 'Messiah is perished from us, and no other messiah will come.' And four families mourn for him, as it is said, *The land will mourn, each family by itself; the family of the house of David by itself* [Zech 12:12]. 28. And the Holy One, blessed be he, goes forth and fights with them, as it is said, *Then the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations* [Zech 14:3]. The mountains will melt and the hills totter and the Mount of Olives will split asunder. 29. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will descend upon it, and Israel flee and make their escape, as it is said, *And you will flee to the valley of my mountain* [Zech 14:5]. 30. *And this shall be the plague [with which the Lord shall strike all the nations, etc. (Zech 14:12)]*. 31. And after this Israel will be exiled to the wilderness of marshes to feed there for forty-five days on sea-purslain and roots of broom. And clouds of glory surround them, and there Israel will be hidden. But whoever has evil thoughts in his heart about the Holy One, blessed be he, the clouds throw him out and the Canaanites kill him. 32. And many from Israel go over to the Canaanites, and they will have no portion with Israel in the age to come. However to those who are prepared to fare meagrely on sea-purslain for forty-five days, comes at the end of that time a heavenly voice, saying to them, 'Go down to Babylon!' As it is said, *And you will go down to Babylon; there you will be rescued* [Mic 4:10]. 33. And a heavenly voice proclaims a second time, 'Go to Edom and execute there my vengeance!' As it is said, *And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel* [Ezk 25:14]. And Israel goes to Rome. And a heavenly voice proclaims a third time, 'Do to her as Joshua did to Jericho!' And they surround the city and blow the trumpets, and the seventh time they raise a battle-cry: 'Hear Israel! The Lord our God, the Lord is one!' [Dt 6:4]. And the walls of the city fall, and they assemble within it and find her young men dead in her squares, as it is said, *Therefore her young men shall fall in her squares, etc. [Jer 49:26]*. 34. And after this they gather all the spoil and Israel seeks their God and David their king. And

thereupon the King Messiah is revealed to them. And he says to them, 'I am the King Messiah, for whom you have waited!' And he says to them, 'Take the silver and the gold.' And they take it and ascend [to Jerusalem], as it is written, *A multitude of camels will cover you* [Isa 60:6]. 35. And a fourth heavenly voice proclaims and says, '*The voice of a crier in the wilderness!*' [Isa 40:3]. 36. And a fifth heavenly voice says, *No lion shall be there* [Isa 35:9]. And a sixth heavenly voice says, *I will put in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, and the myrtle* [Isa 41:19]. 37. And a seventh heavenly voice proclaims, *Comfort, comfort my people!* [Isa 40:1]. And Elijah announces to Israel, *Your God has become king!* [Isa 52:7]. 38. And an eighth heavenly voice proclaims and says, *Speak kindly to Jerusalem* [Isa 40:2]. A ninth heavenly voice says, *Open the gates, that the righteous nation may enter in!* [Isa 26:2]. 39. And a tenth heavenly voice says, *Lift up, O gates, your heads* [Ps 24:7,9]. 40. And the dead will live, as it is said, *Your dead will live, my corpses will rise!* [Isa 26:19]. 41. Then the exiles will gather together, as it is said, *And in that day a great trumpet will sound* [Isa 27:13]. 42. Then is fulfilled [the word], *A star goes forth from Jacob* [Num 24:17]. 43. Yes, may it be pleasing before our Father in heaven that the verse, *And he will raise an ensign for the nations, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel* [Isa 11:12], be fulfilled in our days and in the days of all Israel.

Otot ha-Mashiah

This is a translation of אותות המשיח from Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*.¹ His text is dependent on the collection אבקת רובל.² Section and sentence enumeration have been added to facilitate reference. These correspond to the paragraphs and sentences of Jellinek's text.

Only an approximate date of composition can be given. The lack of reference to Islam suggests it dates from before the Muslim capture of Jerusalem in 638 CE. The writer clearly hoped for the demise of Roman power and, like the author of *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai*, who saw the Islamic armies as the instrument of divine vengeance on Rome, would have mentioned Rome's defeat by the Muslims if it had already taken place.³ He might also have depicted Jerusalem in Arab hands at the time of the end, as does the writer of *Pirque Mashiah*.⁴ So the silence of our text regarding Muslim power suggests it was written before Islam presented any threat whatsoever to Roman power in Palestine, say before 630 CE. Indeed, Messiah ben Joseph's plundering of the temple of Julianus Caesar (6:7) would suggest a date of composition prior to the fall of Rome (455 CE), possibly as early as the time of Julian (r. 361-3). One fact however qualifies an unquestioned assumption of such an early origin, which is that the term *Gaon of Jacob* seems to be used in its specific sense as a formal title of the heads of the large diaspora academies of Sura and Pumbedita (1:2). Sherira mentions a tradition that Ravai of Pumbedita (c.540-560) was known as *gaon*,⁵ however there is no evidence either for or against the specific use of the term at an earlier date. If one can accept a specific use of *gaon* in Roman times, then this midrash might well have been written pre-455 CE, and possibly as early as the time of Julian. But if Sherira's comment demarcates the earliest specific use of the term, then an origin sometime between the mid-sixth and early seventh centuries would have to be proposed.

¹ *BHM*, II:58-63.

² Amsterdam edition, 2b ff. These are the only bibliographical details supplied by Jellinek.

³ Jellinek, *BHM*, III:78-82. See p. 78. The text is given later in this appendix.

⁴ Jellinek, *BHM*, III:68-78. See p. 71. The text is given later in this appendix.

⁵ So S. Abramovitch and J. Brand, "Gaon," [*EJ* VII:315-24] 315. Incidentally, the opinion of some scholars, which is noted in passing by Abramovitch and Brand, that *gaon* only became a formal title in the Islamic period, is disproved by the present text, which appears to be pre-Islamic and to use *gaon* in the formal sense.

There is no evidence regarding authorship. Jellinek mentions an edition of the text which purports to be from "the *midrashim* of Rav Hai Gaon."⁶ None of the three *geonim* Rav Hai could have been the author, given the early date of the text, but the phrase may indicate that one of them included it in a collection of *midrashim*.⁷

אותות המשיח

1 האות הראשון עתיד הקב"ה להעמיד שלשה מלכים וכופרים בדעתם ומשקרים ומראים עצמם לבני אדם שהם עובדים להב"ה ואינם עובדים ומתעים ומבלבלים כל הבריות וכופרי' אומות העולם בדיניהם ואף פושעי ישראל המתאשים מן הגאולה כופרים בהקב"ה ועוזבים את יראתו ועל אותו הדור נאמר ותהי האמת נעדרת ומהו נעדרת שבעלי האמת נעשו עדרים עדרים והולכים ובורחים ומתחבאים במערות ובמחילות עפר ונאספים כל גבורי הדור ובטלו אנשי אמנה ונגנזין שערי חכמה והעולם עומד משונה ובאותו זמן אין מלך ולא נשיא בישראל שנאמר כי ימים רבים ישבו ישראל אין מלך ואין שר אין זבח ואין מצבה וגו'.² ולא ראשי ישיבות וגאון יעקב לא רועים נאמנים ולא חסידים ובעלי השם וננעלי' דלתי שחקים ונסגרים שערי פרנסה וכלכלה.³ ובזמן שמשיח יתגלה בגבורתו דור הולך ונופל בחייו מפני גזרות קשות ומשונות ומבוהלו' שגוזרי' שלשה מלכים הללו.⁴ ועוד שגוזרים לכפור במקדש בה' ובתורה והקב"ה גזר שתמלוך מלכות הרשעה ט' חדשים מכיפה לכיפה שנאמר' לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ואין לכן אלא שבועה שנאמר לכן נשבעתי לבית עלי.⁵ וגוזרים גזרו' קשות וכופלים מס על ישראל על אחד עשר מי שהיה נותן עשרה נותן מאה וכל מי שהיה נותן שמונה נותן שמונים וכל מי שאין לו חותכין ראשו.⁶ וכל אלו תשעה חדשים מתחדשות גזרות אחר גזרות זו קשה מזו.⁷ ויוצאים בני אדם מסוף העולם שהם מכוערים ביותר וכל מי שרואה אותם מת מפחדם ואינם צריכים לעשות מלחמה אלא מפחדם ממיתים הכל וכל אחד ואחד יש לו שני קדקדים ושבעה עינים והם דולקים כאש וקלים בהליכתם כצבאים.⁸ באותה שעה צועקים ישראל ואומרים ווי וקטנים מישראל מתבעתים

⁶ "In cod. 17 der Leipziger Rathsbibliothek steht eine kurze Recension der *Zeichen des Messias* mit der Ueberschrift: ל' גאון רב האי גאון ז"ל [Jellinek, *BHM*, II:xxiii]. I am assuming גאון equals האי.

⁷ Hai ben Nahshon, *gaon* of Sura (885-896); Hai bar Rav David, *gaon* of Pumbedita (890-898); Hai ben Sherira, *gaon* of Pumbedita (998-1038).

והולכים ונטמנים כל אחד ואחד תחת אביו ותחת אמו ואומרים ווי ווי אבא מה נעשה ואבותיהם משיבים להם עתה אנחנו סמוכים לגאולתן של ישראל:

2 האות השני מביא הקדוש ברוך הוא חום בעולם מחמתה של חמה עם שחפת וקדחת ורבים חלאים רעים ודבר ומגפה וממיתים מאומות העולם אלף אלפים בכל יום וכל רשעים שבישראל מתים עד שיבכו אומות העולם ויצעקו אוי לנו אנה נלך ואנה נברח וחופרים כל אחד קברו בחייו ושואלין את נפשם למות. 2 ומתחבאים בצחיחין ובצריחין וחיוחין כדי לצנן את עצמם ובאים במערות ובמחילות עפר. 3 ואם תאמר איך ינצלו הצדיקים מחום החמה הקב"ה יעשה להם רפואה באותו חום שנאמר וזרחה לכם יראי שמי שמש צדקה ומרפא בכנפיה. 4 ועל אותו עדות נבא בלעם הרשע אוי מי יחיה משומו אל:

3 האות השלישי הקדוש ברוך הוא מוריד טל של דם ויראה לאומות העולם כמו מים וישתו ממנו וימותו ואף רשעי ישראל המתיאשים מן הגאולה ישתו ממנו וימותו וצדיקי המחזיקי באמונתו של הקדוש ברוך הוא אינם נזוקים כלל שנאמר והמשכילים יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע. 2 ויהיה כל העולם דם כל אותם השלשה ימים שנאמר בהושע ונתתי מופתים בשמים ובארץ דם ואש ותמרות עשן:

4 האות הרביעי הקדוש ברוך הוא מוריד טל של רפואה לרפאות הדם וישתו ממנה הבינוניים ויתרפאו מחלים שנאמר אהיה כטל לישראל יפרח כשושנה ויך שרשיו כלבנון:

5 האות החמישי הקדוש ברוך הוא מחזיר את השמש לחשך שלשי יום שנאמר השמש יהפך לחשך והירח לדם. 2 אחר שלשים יום הקדוש ברוך הוא מחזירו לקדמותו שנאמר ואספו אסיפת אסיר על בור וסוגרו על מסגר ומרוב ימים יפקדו. 3 ומתפחדים אומות העולם ומתביישים ויודעים שבשביל ישראל כל האותות האלו ורבים מהם מתייהדי בסתר שנאמר משמרים הבלי שוא חסדם יעזובו:

6 האות השישי ממליך הקדוש ברוך הוא אדום הרשעה על כל העולם כמו שאמרנו למעלה. 2 ויקם מלך אחר ברומי וימלוך על כל העולם תשעה חדשים ויחריב מדינות רבות. 3 ויחר אפו על ישראל וישליך עליהם מס גדול. 4 ויהיו ישראל באותה שעה בצרה גדולה מרוב הגזירות והמהומות שמתחדשות עליהם בכל יום וישראל מתמעטין וכלין באותו זמן ואין עוזר לישראל ועל אותו זמן נתנבא ישעיה ואמר וירא כי אין איש וישתומם וגומר. 5 לסוף תשעה חדשים יגלה משיח בן יוסף ושמך נחמי בן חושיאל עם שבט אפרים ומנשה ובנימין ומקצת בני גד. 6 ושומעין ישראל שבכל המדינות שבא משיח ה' ומתקבצים אליו מעט מכל מדינה ומכל עיר שנאמר בירמיהו שובו בנים שובבים נאם ה' כי אנכי בעלתי בכם ולקחתי אתכם אחד מעיר ושנים ממשפחה והבאתי אתכם ציון. 7 ויבא משיח בן יוסף ויתגרה מלחמתו עם

מלך אדום וינצח את אדום ויהרוג מהם תילי תילים ויהרוג את מלך אדום ויחריב מדינת רומי ויוציא קצת כלי בי' המקדש שהם גנוזים בבית יוליי"נוס קיסר ויבא לירושלם וישמעו ישראל ויתקבצו אליו. 8 ומלך מצרים ישלים עמו ויהרוג כל אנשי המדינות אשר סביבות ירושלם עד דמשק ואשקלון וישמעו כל אנשי העולם ויפול אימה גדולה עליהם:

7 האות השביעי הקב"ה בעל נפלאות עושה מופת בעולם. 2 אמרו שיש ברומי אבן של שיש דמות נערה יפה תואר והיא אינה עשויה ביד אדם אלא הקב"ה בראה כן בגבורתו. 3 ובאין רשעי אומות העולם בני בליעל ומהממין אותה ושוכבים אצלה והקדוש ב"ה משמר טפתן בתוך האבן ובורא בה בריה ויוצר בה ולד והיא מתבקעת ויוצא ממנה דמות אדם ושמו ארמי"לוס השטן זה שהאומות קורין אותו אנטיקרי"שטו ארכו שנים עשרה אמה ורחבו שנים עשרה ובין שתי עיניו זרת והן עמוקות אדומות ושער ראשו כצבע זהב. 4 פעמי רגליו ירוקין ושתי קדקדין יש לו. 5 ויבא אצל אדום הרשעה ויאמר להם משיח אני אני אלהיכם מיד מאמינים בו וממליכים אותו עליהם ומתחברים בו כל בני עשו ובאים אצלו והולך וכובש כל המדינות ואומר לבני עשו הביאו לי תורת שנתתי לכם. 6 ומביאים לו תפלותם ואומר להם אמת היא שנתתי לכם ואומר לאומות העולם האמינו בי כי אני משיחכם מיד מאמינים בו. 7 באותה שעה משגר לנחמיה בן חושיאל ולכל ישראל ואומר להם הביאו לי תורתכם ועידו לי שאני אלוה מיד מתפחדין ויתמהו. 8 באותה שעה יקום נחמיה בן חושיאל ושלושים אלף גבורים מגבורי בני אפרים ויקחו ספר תורה וקורין לפניו אנכי ה' אלהיך לא יהיה לך אלהים אחרים על פני. 9 ויאמר להם אין בתורתכם זו כלום אלא בואו והעידו לי שאני אלוה בדרך שעשו כל האומות. 10 מיד יעמוד כנגדו נחמיה ויאמר לעבדיו תפשוהו וכפתוהו. 11 מיד יקום נחמיה בן חושיאל ושלושים אלף שעמו ויעשו עמו מלחמה ויהרגו ממנו מאתים אלף. 12 מיד יחרה אפו של ארמי"לוס הרשע ויקבוץ כל חילי אומות העולם לעמק החרוץ וילחם עם ישראל ויהרגו ממנו תילי תילים וינגפו מישראל מעט ויהרג משיח ה' ובאים מלאכי השרת ונוטלים אותו ומטמינים אותו עם אבות העולם. 13 מיד ימס לבם של ישראל ויתש כחם וארמי"לוס הרשע לא ידע שמת משיח שהם יודע לא היה משאיר מישראל שריד ופליט. 14 באותה שעה כל אומות העולם טורדין את ישראל ממדינותיהם ואינם מניחים אותם לדור עמהם במדינותיהם ואומרים ראיתם את העם בזוי ושפל שמרדו עלינו והמליכו מלך ותהי צרה לישראל שלא היתה כמותה מימות העולם עד אותו זמן. 15 ובאותה שעה יעמוד מיכאל לברר את הרשעים מישראל שנאמר ובעת ההיא יעמוד מיכאל השר הגדול העומד על בני עמך והיתה צרה אשר לא נהיתה וגומר. 16 מיד יברחו כל ישראל במדברות וכל מי שלבו מסופק בדינו חוזר על האומות העולם ואומרי' זו הגאולה שאנו מחכי' לה שהמשיח נהרג.

17 וכל מי שאינו מצפה לגאולה מתבייש ממנה וחוזר על אומות העולם.
 18 באותה שעה הקב"ה בוחן את ישראל וצורפן ככסף וכזהב. 19 שנאמר
 בזכריה והבאתי את השלישי באש וצרפתים כצרוף הכסף וכתוב ביחזקאל
 וברותי מכם הפושעים בי וגו'. 20 ובדניאל כתיב יתבררו ויתלבנו ויצרפו רבים
 והרשיעו רשעים וגו' ויהיו כל שארית ישראל והקדושים והטהורים במדבר
 יהודה חמשה וארבעים יום ויהיו רועים ואוכלים מלוחים ועלה שיח קוטפי.
 21 ובהם מתקיי' מה שנאמר בהושע לכן הנה אנכי מפתיה והולכתיה
 המדברה ודברתי על לבה. 22 ומנין שחמשה וארבעים יום הם שנאמר ומעת
 הוסר התמיד ולתת שקוץ משומ' אלף ומאתי' ותשעי'. 23 וכתוב אשרי
 המחכה ויגיע לימים אלף שלש מאות שלשי' וחמשה. 24 נמצא בין אלו לאלו
 חמשה וארבעים יום. 25 באותה שעה ימותו כל רשעי ישראל שאינם ראויים
 לראות הגאולה. 26 ויבא ארמי"ל"וס וילח' במצרי' וילכדה שנאמר וארץ
 מצרי' לא תהיה לפלטה ויחזור פניו לירושלם להחריבה פעם שניה שנאמר
 ויטע אהלי אפדנו בין ימים להר צבי קדש ובא עד קצו ואין עוזר לו:

8 האות השמיני יעמוד מיכאל ויתקע בשופר שלשה פעמים שנא' והיה
 ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול ובאו האובדי' וגומר וכתוב וה' אלהים בשופר
 יתקע והלך בסערות תימן. 2 תקיעה ראשונה יגלה משיח בן דוד ואלהיו
 הנביא לאותן הצדיקים הברורים מישראל שנסו למדב' יהודה לסוף מ"ה ימי'
 ישיבו את לבם ויחזיקו את ידיה' הרפות והברכיה' הכושלות יאמצו.
 3 וישמעו כל ישראל הנשאר' בכל העולם את קול השופר וידעו כי פקד ה'
 אותם וכי באה הגאולה' השלמה ויתקבצו ויבאו שנאמר ובאו האובדים בארץ
 אשור וגומר ומאותו קול יפול פחד ורתת על אומות העולם ויפלו עליה'
 חלאי' רעים. 4 וישראל מתאזרי' לצאת ויבא משיח בן דוד ואלהיו הנביא עם
 הצדיקים ששבו ממדבר יהודה ועם כל ישראל הנקבצי' ויבא לירושלם
 ויעלה במעלות בית הנשאר' וישב שם וישמע ארמי"ל"וס שעמד מלך לישראל
 ויאמר עד אנה האומה הבזויה והשפלה הזאת עושין כן מיד יקבוץ כל חיילי
 אומות העולם ויבא להלחם עם משיח ה' ואז הקב"ה אינו מצריכו למלחמה
 אלא אומר לו שב לימיני והוא אומר לישראל התיצבו וראו את ישועת ה'
 אשר יעשה לכם היום מיד הקב"ה נלחם בהם שנאמר ויצא ה' ונלחם בגוים
 ההם ביום הלחמו ביום קרב. 5 והקב"ה מוריד אש וגפרית מן השמים שנאמר
 ונשפטתי אתו בדבר וברד וגש' שוטף ואבני אלגביש וגו'. 6 מיד ארמי"ל"וס
 הרשע ימות הוא וכל חילו ואדום הרשעה שהחריבו בית אלהינו והגלונו
 מארצנו. 7 ובאותה שעה יעשו בה' ישראל נקמות גדולות שנאמר והיה בית
 יעקב אש ובית יוסף להבה ובית עשו לקש וגומר:

9 האות התשיעי יתקע מיכאל תקיעה גדולה ויבקעו מחילות המת'
 בירושלם ויחיה אותם הקדוש ב"ה וילך משיח בן דוד ואלהיו הנביא ויחיו
 משיח בן יוסף הנאסף בשערי ירושלם וישלחו את משיח בן דוד בשביל

שארית ישראל הפזורים בכל הארצות. 2 מיד כל מלכי אומות העולם נושאים אותם על כתפותיהם ומביאים אותם לה' וגו':

10 האות העשירי תוקע מיכאל תקיעה גדולה ויוציא הקדוש ברוך הוא מנהר גוזן ומחלח וחבור ומערי מדי כל השבטים ויבאו עם בני משה באין מספר ובאין שיעור. 2 כגן עדן הארץ לפנייהם ואחרייהם תלהט להבה ולא ישאירו מחיה לאומות העולם ובשעה שיצאו השבטים ענני כבוד יקיפו אותם והקב"ה הולך לפנייהם שנאמר ועלה הפורץ לפנייהם והקב"ה יפתח להם מעינות של עץ חיים וישקה אותם בדרך שנאמר בישעיה אפתח על שפיים נהרות ובתוך בקעות מעינות אשים מדבר לאגם מים וציה למוצאי מים. 3 וכתוב לא ירעבו ולא יצמאו ולא יכם שרב ושמש וגומר. 4 הקב"ה יזכנו לראות את הגאולה מהרה ויזכנו לראות בית הבהירה. 5 ויקיים בנו מקרא שכתוב הנני שב את שבות אהלי יעקב ומשכנותיו ארחם ונבנתה עיר על תלה וארמון על משפטו ישב ויקיים עלינו כל נחמותיו וכל הבטחותיו שנאמר על ידי נביאיו וכתוב בעת ההיא אביא אתכם ובעת קבצי אתכם כי אתן אתכם לשם ולתהלה:

תמו אותות המשיח :

Signs of the Messiah.

1. The First Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, will raise up a triumvirate of kings, and they will deny reason, and lie, and present themselves to people as worshippers of the Holy One, blessed be he, but they will not be. And they lead astray and confuse all mankind, and on account of their laws the nations of the world will deny [the truth]. And even apostate Israelites, who have given up hope of the redemption, will deny the Holy One, blessed be he, and forsake the fear of him. And of this generation it is said, *And truth is lacking* [Isa 59:15]. And what does *lacking* mean? It means the masters of truth become like flocks, and go and flee and hide themselves in caves and holes in the ground.⁸ And all the great ones of the generation die, and honest men cease to exist. The gates of wisdom are hidden, and the world

⁸ There is a wordplay on *lacking* [נעדרת] and *flocks* [עדרים]. Similar expressions occur at Sanh 97a: "What is meant by *truth is lacking*? The scholars of the school of Rab said, 'This teaches that it will split up into flocks [עדרים עדרים] and depart'; and at SongR 2.13: "Where does banished truth go? She goes and sits in flocks [עדרים עדרים] in the desert."

neglects study. And at that time [there will be] no king and no prince in Israel, as it is said, *For Israel shall dwell many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar*, etc. [Hos 3:4]. 2. And [there will be] no heads of academies of *gaon*⁹ of Jacob, and no faithful shepherds or pious believers, and no wonder-workers. And the doors of heaven¹⁰ are fastened, and the gates of provision and sustenance locked. 3. And when the Messiah is revealed in his might the generation [of that time] will be having the life squeezed out of it, because of the harsh laws and perplexities and terrors which these three kings decree. 4. Moreover, they will pass a decree banning the Holy Place, the Lord, and the Torah. And the Holy One, blessed be he, has decreed that the evil kingship will hold sway for nine months, from one horizon to the other, as it is said, *Therefore he shall give them over until the time when she who is in travail gives birth* [Mic 5:2(3)], and they will have nothing except an oath, as it is said, *Therefore I swear to the house of Eli* [1 Sam 3:14].¹¹ 5. They will decree harsh decrees and multiply tenfold the tribute imposed on Israel. Whoever was giving ten gives a hundred, and everyone who was giving eight gives eighty, and everyone who has nothing, they cut off his head. 6. And throughout all these nine months they promulgate decree after decree, each harsher than the one before. 7. And people will emerge from the ends of the earth, who will be particularly ugly, and all who see them will die from fear of them. They do not need to make war, for merely from fear they will kill every one. And each of them will have two heads and seven eyes, burning like fire, and swift in motion as gazelles. 8. At that time Israel will cry out and say, "Woe! Woe!" And the little ones of Israel will be terrified and will go and hide themselves, every one under [the garment of] his father and mother, and say, "Woe! Woe, father! What is happening?"¹² And their fathers will answer them, "Now we are drawing near to the redemption of Israel."

2. The Second Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, makes heat come on the world from the heat of the sun, together with wasting disease, fever, many malignant illnesses, and plague, and they kill a thousand thousands from the nations of the world every day (and all the wicked in Israel die), until the nations of the world will wail and cry out, "Woe to us! Where shall we go? Where shall we flee?" And each one digs his own grave while alive, and they ask to die. 2. They conceal themselves in barren

⁹ I have left *gaon* untranslated, as the term is being used in its specific sense with reference to the heads of the large academies of the diaspora.

¹⁰ Or, *the doors of the mill*. There appears to be a word play upon the double sense of שחוקים as *heaven, clouds, and grinding* [cf. Jastrow, II:1550-1551].

¹¹ The allusion is unclear. It may imply that Israel will have only God's oath for reassurance. Or it may intend the latter part of the verse to refer to the three evil kings (*the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be expiated by sacrifice or offering for ever*).

¹² Or, *What shall we do?*

places, towers, and thickets, in order to cool themselves, and go into caves and holes in the ground. 3. And if you say, "How will the righteous be saved from the heat of the sun?" The Holy One, blessed be he, will make a means of healing in this heat, as it is said, *But for you who fear my name the sun of righteousness shall rise with healing in his wings* [Mal 3:20 (4:2)]. 4. And concerning this wicked Balaam testified prophetically, *Woe! Who will live when God does this?* [Num 24:23].

3. The Third Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, will make a dew of blood descend, and the nations of the world will think it is water, and they will drink of it and die. And even the wicked of Israel, who have given up hope of the redemption, will drink of it and die. But the righteous, who hold to faith in the Holy One, blessed be he, are not injured at all, as it is said, *Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament* [Dan 12:3]. 2. And all the world shall become blood for a full three days, as it is said in Hosea, *And I will give portents in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire and columns of smoke* [Joel 3:3 (2:30)].¹³

4. The Fourth Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, makes a dew of healing descend to heal the blood, and the ordinary people¹⁴ will drink of it and be cured of the diseases, as it is said, *I will be as the dew to Israel; he shall blossom as the lily, he shall strike root as Lebanon* [Hos 14:6(5)].

5. The Fifth Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, turns the sun to darkness for three days, as it is said, *The sun will be turned to darkness and the moon to blood* [Joel 3:4 (2:31)]. 2. After three days the Holy One, blessed be he, restores it to its former state, as it is said, *They will be gathered together as prisoners in a pit; they will be shut up in prison, and after many days they will be released* [Isa 24:22]. 3. And the nations of the world will be terrified and abashed, knowing that all these signs are because of Israel, and many of them become secret Jews, as it is said, *Those who adhere to vain idols will forsake their faithful love* [Jon 2:9(8)].

6. The Sixth Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, makes evil Edom rule over all the world, as we said above. 2. And another king of the Romans will arise, who will rule over all the world for nine months and lay waste many countries. 3. And he will rage against Israel and impose heavy tribute on them. 4. And Israel will be in great distress at this time because of the number of decrees and perturbations proclaimed against them every day. And Israel will decrease and waste away at this time, and [there will be] no helper for Israel. And Isaiah prophesied of this time and said, *He saw there was no man and he was astounded*, etc. [Isa 59:16]. 5. At the end of the nine

¹³ It is not clear why the writer cites Joel as Hosea. He may regard Hosea, the first of the Twelve prophets, as representative of them all. Or it may be an error.

¹⁴ That is, those neither righteous nor wicked.

months Messiah ben Joseph will appear, and his name is Nehemiah ben Hoshiel, and with him the tribe of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, and some of the sons of Gad. 6. And Israel hears in all the countries that the Messiah of the Lord has come, and a few from every province and city gather to him, as it is said in Jeremiah, *Return, rebellious sons, says the Lord, for I am your master, and I will take you, one from a city and two from a clan, and bring you to Zion* [Jer 3:14]. 7. And Messiah ben Joseph will come and stir himself up for his war with the King of Edom. He will conquer Edom and kill heaps and heaps and heaps of them. And he will kill the King of Edom and destroy the country of the Romans and will bring out some of the vessels of the sanctuary of the sons of Israel, which are in the temple¹⁵ of Julianus Caesar.¹⁶ And he will go to Jerusalem, and Israel will hear and gather to him. 8. And the King of Egypt will make peace with him, and he will kill all the people of the countries around Jerusalem as far as Damascus and Ashkelon. And all the people of the world will hear and great terror will fall upon them.

7. The Seventh Sign. The Holy One, blessed be he, the master of wonders, performs a miracle in the world. 2. They say there is a stone in Rome which has the form of a shapely girl, and it¹⁷ was not made by human hand, but the Holy One, blessed be he, made it thus by his power. 3. And the wicked nations of the world, the sons of Belial, abuse it and lie with it. And the Holy One, blessed be he, preserves their drops [of semen] in the stone and creates in it a being and forms in it a child. And it splits apart and out of it comes a human form. His name is Armilus the Satan. This is he whom the nations call Antichrist. And his height is twelve cubits and his width twelve cubits. There is a span between his two eyes and they are dark red. And the hair of his head is as if coloured gold. 4. The soles of his feet are green and he has two heads. 5. And he will go along to evil Edom and say to them, "I am Messiah. I am your God." Thereupon they believe in him and make him rule over them. All the sons of Esau are spellbound by him, and going with him march out and crush all the countries. And he says to the sons of Esau, "Bring me my Torah, which I gave you." 6. And they bring him their prayers.¹⁸ And he says to them, "This which I gave you is true." And he says to the nations of the world, "Trust in me, for I am your Messiah." Thereupon they trust in him. 7. At that time he sends to Nehemiah ben Hoshiel and all Israel and says to

¹⁵ Or *palace*.

¹⁶ Flavius Claudius Julianus, known as Julian the Apostate (331-363 CE), Roman emperor from 361-363 CE.

¹⁷ Or *she*, and so throughout 2 and 3.

¹⁸ The term *prayers* seems unusual. The reason for its use may have been to introduce a deliberate wordplay between תַּפִּלּוֹת *prayers*, and תַּפְּלוּת *triviality, obscenity*, referring, in the context, to the NT or other Christian writings.

them, "Bring me your Torah and testify of me that I am your God." Thereupon they are afraid and look anxiously at one another. 8. At that time Nehemiah ben Hoshiel will rise up with 30,000 warriors of the warriors of the sons of Ephraim. And they will take the Book of Torah and read before him, *I am the Lord your God. You shall have no other gods before me* [Ex 20:2-3; Dt 5:6-7]. 9. And he will say to them, "There is nothing in this Torah of yours. But come, testify of me that I am God in the same way that all the nations have done." 10. Thereupon Nehemiah will withstand him, and he [Armilus] will say to his servants, "Seize him and bind him!" 11. Thereupon Nehemiah ben Hoshiel will rise up, and the 30,000 who are with him, and do battle with him. And they will kill 20,000 of them. 12. Thereupon the fury of evil Armilus will burn, and he will gather all the forces of the world to the Valley of Judgment [Joel 4:14]. And he will do battle with Israel. And they [Israel] will kill heaps and heaps of them, but only a few will be smitten from Israel. But Messiah of the Lord will be killed. And ministering angels will come and carry him away and hide him with the eternal fathers.¹⁹ Thereupon the courage of Israel will melt and their strength will weaken. But evil Armilus will not know that Messiah is dead. For if he knew, he would leave neither survivor nor fugitive of Israel. 14. And at that time all the nations of the world drive Israel out of their countries and they do not let them live in their countries. And they say, "You saw the people despised and humiliated, who rebelled against us and set up a king."²⁰ And there will be distress for Israel, such as never was from ancient days to this time. 15. And at this time Michael will arise to purge the wicked from Israel, as it is said, *At that time Michael, the great prince who is appointed over the sons of your people, will arise. And there shall be distress such as never was*, etc. [Dan 12:1]. 16. Thereupon all Israel will flee into the deserts, and every one whose mind is in doubt will return to the nations of the world and they will say, "This redemption for which we wait is because the Messiah was killed." 17. And all who are not waiting for the redemption will become ashamed of it and return to the nations of the world. 18. At that time the Holy One, blessed be he, tests Israel and refines them like silver and gold. 19. As it is said in Zechariah, *And I will bring a third of them through fire, and refine them as silver is refined* [Zech 13:9]. And it is written in Ezekiel, *I will purge you of those who rebel against me*, etc. [Ezk 20:38]. 20. And in Daniel it is written, *Many will be purified, made spotless and refined, but the wicked will continue to be wicked*, etc. [Dan 12:10]. And all the remnant of Israel, the holy and ritually clean, will be in the desert of Judah forty-five days and they will subsist by eating salt herbs and they will pluck leaves from shrubs. 21. And in them is fulfilled what is said in

¹⁹ That is, the heroes of the OT. See the Hebrew of Sir 44:1.

²⁰ Or possibly, "Have you seen the people . . . ?"

Hosea, *Therefore I am now going to allure her; I will lead her into the desert and speak tenderly to her* [Hos 2:16(14)]. 22. And the number of days is forty-five because it is said, *From the time that the daily sacrifice is abolished and to the setting up of the abomination that makes desolate [there will be] 1,290 [days]* [Dan 12:11]. 23. And it is written, *Blessed is the one who waits for and reaches the end of 1,335 [days]* [Dan 12:12]. 24. Between these there are forty-five days. 25. At this time all the wicked of Israel, who were not worthy to see the redemption, will perish. 26. And Armilus will go and make war against Egypt and capture it, as it is said, *And the land of Egypt will not escape* [Dan 11:42]. And he will turn his face to Jerusalem to destroy it a second time, as it is said, *He will pitch his royal tents between the seas at the beautiful holy mountain. Yet he will come to his end and no-one will help him* [Dan 11:45].

8. The Eighth Sign. Michael will stand and blow three blasts upon the shofar, as it is said, *And in that day a great shofar will sound, and those perishing will come, etc.* [Isa 27:13]. And it is written, *The Lord God will sound the shofar and march in the storms of the south* [Zech 9:14]. 2. At the first blast Messiah ben David will reveal himself, and Elijah the prophet, to the purified righteous of Israel who fled to the desert of Judah. At the end of forty-five days their courage will return and they will strengthen their feeble hands and make firm their weak knees. 3. And the remnant of Israel in all the world will hear the sound of the shofar and they will know that the Lord is mustering them and that the final redemption has come. And they will gather and come, as it is said, *And those perishing in the land of Assyria come, etc.* [Isa 27:13]. And at this sound fear and trembling will fall on the nations of the world, and terrible diseases will fall on them. 4. And Israel will gird themselves for departure. And Messiah ben David will go, and Elijah the prophet, with the righteous ones who returned from the desert of Judah, and with all of gathered Israel, and he will go to Jerusalem. And he will ascend the ascents²¹ to the remains of the temple and take his seat there. And Armilus will hear that a king has arisen for Israel and he will say, "How long will this contemptible little nation act like this?" Thereupon he will gather all the armies of the nations of the world and go to make war with the Messiah of the Lord. And then the Holy One, blessed be he, needs nothing for the battle, but to say to him [Messiah ben David], *Sit at my right hand* [Ps 110:1]. And he [Messiah ben David] will say to Israel, *Stand firm and see the deliverance of the Lord which he will accomplish for you today* [Ex 14:13]. Thereupon the Holy One, blessed be he, fights against them, as it is said, *And the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations*

²¹ Or, *steps*.

as he fights on a day of battle [Zech 12:3]. 5. And the Holy One, blessed be he, makes fire and brimstone come down from the heavens, as it is said, *I will execute judgment upon him with plague and hail, and I will pour out torrential rain and hailstones*, etc. [Ezk 38:22]. 6. Thereupon evil Armilus will die, he and all his army, and evil Edom, who laid waste the temple of our God and exiled us from our land. And at that time Israel will wreak on them a great vengeance, as it is said, *The house of Jacob will be a fire and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau will be stubble*, etc. [Ob 18].

9. The Ninth Sign. Michael will blow a great blast [upon the shofar] and the catacombs of the dead in Jerusalem will break open and the Holy One, blessed be he, will make them live. And Messiah ben David will proceed, and Elijah the prophet, and they will revive Messiah ben Joseph, who was gathered [in death] at the gates of Jerusalem. And they will send Messiah ben David for the remnant of Israel scattered in all the lands. 2. Thereupon all the kings of the nations of the world will lift them on their shoulders and bring them [to Jerusalem], etc.

10. The Tenth Sign. Michael blows a great blast [upon the shofar] and the Holy One, blessed be he, brings out all the tribes [of Israel] from the River Gozan, and Halah, and Habor, and the cities of Media.²² And they will come with the sons of Moses without number. 2. *The land is like the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a flame burns* [Joel 2:3], and they will not leave behind a [single] possession of the nations of the world.²³ When the tribes depart, clouds of glory will surround them, and the Holy One, blessed be he, will go before them, as it is said, *He who breaks through will go up before them* [Mic 2:13]. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will open the springs of the tree of life to them and will make them drink by the road, as it is said in Isaiah, *I will open rivers on barren heights, and springs within the valleys; I will make the desert a pool of water, and the parched land into fountainheads of water* [Isa 41:18]. 3. And it is written, *They shall not hunger or thirst, neither shall scorching wind nor sun smite them*, etc. [Isa 49:10]. 4. The Holy One, blessed be he, make us worthy to see the redemption quickly, and make us worthy to see the shining temple.²⁴ 5. May he establish among us a convocation, as it is written, *Behold, I will restore the fortunes of the tents of Jacob, and have compassion on his dwellings; the city will be rebuilt on its ruins and the palace stand in its proper place* [Jer 30:18]. May he establish for us all his consolations and promises, as it is said

²² These are the places, according to 2 Ki 17:6 and 1 Chr 5:26, to which the Assyrians carried the captives of Samaria.

²³ That is, they will plunder the nations as at the exodus from Egypt (Gen 15:14; Ex 11:1ff; 12:35-36; Ps 105:37).

²⁴ Or, *The Holy One, blessed be he, will make us worthy*, etc. And so through v.5.

by his prophets, and it is written, *At that time I will bring you, and at that time when I have gathered you, I will surely give you honour and renown* [Zep 3:20].

The Signs of the Messiah are Ended.

Sefer Zerubbabel.

This does not pretend to be a critical edition of *Sefer Zerubbabel*. It has been made solely for the purposes of this present thesis. Those who wish to familiarise themselves with the extensive textual variants should compare the texts of Jellinek, Wertheimer, Eben-Shmuel, and Eisenstein, together with the Cairo Genizah manuscripts.¹ The following is simply a translation of Jellinek's text, together with the variant readings which he includes. I have inserted these variants in the main text, as does Jellinek. The formula, *v.r.* (*variant reading*), is employed to render Jellinek's נ"א מוסיף and נ"א is rendered, *v.r. adds*. The sentences of Jellinek's text have been enumerated.

Sefer Zerubbabel was a popular work. It exists in 'countless medieval manuscripts,' deriving from all the main centres of medieval Judaism.² It was widely accepted by Jews of almost every ideology, the principle exception being Maimonides and his followers, who found it incompatible with their view that the Messiah was to be an earthly Davidic king who would die a natural death and be succeeded by his descendants.³ This popularity led to a profusion of texts and, inevitably, textual variants, and our text is sometimes bewildering in its multiplicity of names and pseudonyms.

As regards dating, Baron suggests that some manuscripts indicate 638 CE as the year of redemption, which would indicate that these texts originated shortly before that time.

By identifying the recurring name Sirois with a king of Persia by that name, Lévi reinterpreted the entire tract within the context of the final stages of the Perso-Byzantine war and the rise of Islam (629-36). His argument was accepted by Ibn Shemuel who added the observation that, in the version published by Lévi from a Bodleian manuscript, the date of 990 years could relate not to the fall of Jerusalem (a second passage mentions specifically "Jerusalem's ruins"), but rather to the building of the Second Temple which, according to Jewish tradition, had lasted altogether 420 years. Subtracting these 420 years, the prediction aimed at the remaining 570 years after the fall of Jerusalem in 68 CE, that is at the year 638.⁴

¹ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, II:54-57; Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, 495-505; Eben-Shmuel, *Midreshê Geullah*, 71-88, 379-79. The Genizah texts are in Hopkins, *Miscellany*, 10, 15, 64f., 72f.

² J. Dan, "Zerubbabel, Book of," *EJ* 16:1002.

³ J. Dan, "Zerubbabel, Book of," *EJ* 16:1002; A. Hyman, "Maimonides, Moses," *EJ* 11:776.

⁴ Baron, *History*, V:354. Baron is referring to Lévi, I, "L'apocalypse de Zorobabel et le roi de Perse Siroès," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 68 (1914) 129-60; 69 (1919) 108-21; 71 (1920) 57-65. This Persian king does not appear in Jellinek's text.

The work's silence on Islam would also appear to indicate a date some years before the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 638 CE. For midrashim of the Islamic period, such as *Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai* and *Pirqê Mashiah*, generally make reference to the Arabs.⁵ A date sometime in the early seventh century would therefore appear likely.

ספר זרובבל.

1 **הדבר** אשר היה אל זרובבל בן שאלתיל פחת יהודה (נ"א הראני שם) המראה הזות. 2 ואני הייתי מתפלל לפני ה' בחזיון המראה אשר ראיתי על נהר כבר באומרי (נ"א ואומר) ברוך אתה ה' מחיה המתים:

3 **נהם** לבבי עלי לאמר איך יהיה צורת הבית לעולמים. 4 ויענני מדלתות השמים ויאמר לי האתה זרובבל פחת יהודה. 5 ואומר אני עבדך. 6 ויצא לי קול (נ"א ויען לי) וידבר עמי כאשר ידבר איש אל רעהו. 7 קולו שמעתי ומראהו לא ראיתי. 8 ואקום ואתפלל כבתחילה ואומרה (נ"א ואגמור) תפלתי ואפנה לביתי. 9 וביום אחד עשר לאדר (נ"א לחדש) היה מדבר עמי ויאמר לי בא אצלי שאל ממני. 10 ואומר מה אשאל. 11 קטני (נ"א קצרו) ימי קצי ואמלא ימי. 12 ויאמר לי אחייך. 13 ויאמר אלי תהי חי. 14 ותשאני רוח בין השמים ובין הארץ ויוליכני בנינוה העיר הגדולה והיא עיר הדמים ויצר לי מאוד ואקום מצרה להתפלל ולחלות את פני אלהי ישראל ואתודה את פשעי וחטאתי ואומר אנא ד' חטאתי פשעתי ואשמתי כי נהלו כאבי. 15 אתה הוא אלהי ישראל אשר עשית הכל ברוח פיך ובאומרך מתים יחיו. 16 ויאמר ה' אלי לך אל בית התורף (נ"א בית הלצות) מקום השוק. 17 ואלך כאשר צווני. 18 ויאמר אלי פנה לך הלאה. 19 ואפנה ויגע בי וראיתי איש נבזה ופצוע. 20 ויאמר אלי האיש הפצוע ונבזה זרובבל מה לך פה (נ"א מלאכתך). 21 ואען ואומר רוח ה' נשאני כאשר (נ"א בזה העיר) לא אדע ויוליכני בזה המקום. 22 ויאמר אלי אל תירא כי למען הראותך הובאת הנה. 23 וכשמעי דבריו נחמתי ושאלתי לו מה שם המקום הזה. 24 ויאמר אלי זו הוא רומה רבה שאני אסור בה בכלא עד בא קיצי (נ"א ואומר לו אדוני אי אתה ומה מבקש ומה תעשה הנה ויאמר אלי אני משיח השם שאני אסור פה עד עת קץ). 25 וכשמעי זאת הסתרתי פני רגע ממנו ואשוב ואביט אליו והסתרתי עוד כי יראתי. 26 ויאמר אלי אל תירא ואל תחת למה אתה מחריש. 27 ואומר שמעתי שמעך כי משיח אלהי אתה. 28 ומיד נדמה אלי כנער מכלול יפה ונעים בחור אין כמותו. 29 ואומר אליו מתי יאיר נר ישראל. 30 ובאמרי

⁵ These are included in this appendix. See NRSbY 3-7; PirM 43.

לו הדברים והנה איש בעל כנפים בא אלי ויאמר אלי (נ"א מוסיף עוד מה תשאל למשיח השם ועניתי ואמרתי מתי יבא קץ הישועה ויאמר לי) כי הוא היה שר צבא ישראל שנלחם עם סנחריב ועם מלכי כנען ועתיד הוא להלחם מלחמת ה' עם משיח ה' ועם המלך עזפני' וארמילוס בן אבן שיצא מהאבן. 31 ויוסף מטטרון ויאמר לי המלאך אני שנהגתי את אברהם בכל ארץ כנען ואני הוא אשר פדיתי את יצחק ונאבקתי עם יעקב במעבר יבוק ואני שנהגתי את ישראל במדבר מ' שנה בשם ה' ואני שנגליתי ליהושע בגלגל ואני הוא ששמי כשם רבי ושמו בקרבי. 32 ואתה זרובבל שאל ממני ואגידה מה יקרא לעמך באחרית הימים. 33 ויאמר לי זה משיח ה' הצפון כאן עד עת קץ (נ"א ויאמר לי משיח ה' אשר יבא בעת קץ ושמו מנחם בן עמיאל ויולד בימי דוד מלך ישראל וישארו רוח ויצפנהו כאן עד עת קץ) ואני שאלתי למטטרון ויאמר אלי מטה ישועה יתן הש"י לחפצי בה אם מנחם וככב יגיה לפניו ותצא חפצי בה ותהרוג ב' מלכים האחד נוף מתימן ושם השני אנטוכיא (נ"א אסרנו מאנטוכיא) ואותות האלו יהיו בחג השבועות ואמת הדבר (נ"א מוסיף לכשיהרג) וכשיבנה העיר ד' מאות ו"כ שנה יחרב שנייה ו"כ שנה לכניעת (נ"א לכשיבנה רומא) רומא וימליכו בה שבעים מלכים וכשגמרו עשרה מלכים בה והעשירי יחרוב ב"ה ויוסר התמיד ומאותו יום חשוב לך ט' מאות וצ' שנה יהיה תשועת ה' ויזכור עם קדשו לגאלם לנטלם לנשואם ולקבצם. 34 והמטה אשר יתן ה' לחפצי בה אם מנחם משקד (נ"א מן שקדים) הוא והוא נטמן ברקת (נ"א מוסיף עיר נפתלי). 35 והוא מטה אהרן ומשה ודוד מלך ישראל. 36 והוא המטה אשר פרח באוהל מעד ויציץ ציץ ויגמול שקדים ואלהו בן אלעזר גנזו ברקת והיא טבריא ושם גנזו משיח בן אפרים. 37 ויען זרובבל בן שאלתיאל (נ"א ואומר למיכאל) ויאמר בי אדוני מתי יבא נר ישראל ומה יהיה אחרי כל זאת. 38 ויאמר לי משיח בן יוסף יבא ה' שנים אחר חפצי בה ויקבץ כל ישראל כאיש אחד ויעמדו מ' שנים בירושלים ויקריבו קרבן ואז יעלה מלך פרס על ישראל ויהיה צרה גדולה בישראל ותצא חפצי בה אשת נתן הנביא עם המטה אשר יתן ה' לה ויתן ה' בהם רוח עושים ויהרגו איש את אחיו ושם ימות רשע. 39 וכשמעי דבריו נפילתי על פני ואמרתי לו הגידה לי האמת על עם קודש. 40 וידבק בי ויראיני אבן בדמות אשה ויאמר אלי אבן זאת ישכב שטן עמה ויצא ממנה ארמילוס והוא ימלוך על כל העולם כלו ואין מי יעמוד לפניו וכל מי שלא יאמין בו ימות בחרבו הקשה ויבא בארץ ישראל עם עשרה המלכים לירושלים ויהרגו שם משיח בן יוסף ושם עשרה צדיקים עמו ויגלו ישראל במדבר וחפצי בה אם מנחם עומדת שם לא יבא אותו רשע (ולא יראה אותו רשע) ומלחמה זו תהיה בחדש אב. 41 אז ואז יהיה צרה בישראל שלא היתה כמותה בעולם וינוסו בצריחים ומערות ובמדברות וכל א"ה יטעו אחר אותו רשע שטן ארמילוס חוץ מישראל ויספדו כל ישראל את נחמיה בן חושיאל שנהרג

ותהיה נבלתו מושלכת לפני שערי ירושלים וחיה ועוף לא יגעו בה. 42 וכשמעי דבריו ותצר לי מאוד (נ"א מוסיף על הריגת בן יוסף ועל כל ישראל) ואקום להתפלל לפני ה' וישמע וישלח את מלאכו אלי ואדע כי הוא המלאך הדובר בי ואשתחוה לפניו. 43 ויאמר אלי מה לך זרובבל. 44 ואומר אליו הבהילנו רוח. 45 ויעמוד מטטרון ויען ויאמר זרובבל שאל ממני בטרם אלך מעמך. 46 ואשאל לו ואומר מתי יבא נר ישראל. 47 ויען אלי ויאמר חי ה' אשר שלחני כי אומר אליך את מעשה הש"י כי הקול הקדש שלחני אליך להגידך את כל אשר תשאל. 48 ויאמר אלי מיכאל גשה נא אלי ושים לבך לאשר אני אומר אליך כי אמת הדבר בשם אלהים חיים. 49 ויאמר אלי מנחם בן עמיאל יבא פתאום בחדש ניסן ויעמד על בקעת ארבאל ויצאו אליו כל חכמי ישראל ולהם יאמר בן עמיאל אני הוא משיח אשר שלחני ה' לבשרכם ולהצילכם מיד צורריכם ויביטו בו החכמים ויבזוהו כמו שאתה בזית אותו (נ"א מוסיף ולא יאמינו בו) ויבער בו חמתו וילבש בגדי נקם תלבושת ויבא בשערי ירושלים ועמו אליהו ויקיצו ויחיו את נחמיה (נ"א בן שאלתיאל הנהרג) ויאמינו בו. 50 וכך השביעני מטטרון כי למלאות חרבות ירושלים ט' מאות וצ' שנה יהיה תשועת ה' מנחם ואליהו יעמדו על הים הגדול ויקראו בנביאיו ויצאו כל פגרי ישראל שהשליכו עצמם בים מפני שוביהם ואז תעל עדת קרח ויבואו אצל משה ויחיו מתי מדבר ואסף דגל הקרחי וירד הש"י בהר הזיתים וההר יבקע מגערתו וילחם בגוים ההם כאיש מלחמות יעיר קנאה ויבא משיח בן דוד ויפח באפיו של ארמילוש וימיתוהו וכל ישראל יראו את ה' בשוב ציון עין בעין (נ"א מוסיף שנ' עין בעין יראו בשוב ה' ציון) כאיש מלחמות וכובע ישועה בראשו ולבוש שריון וילחם בארמילוס ובחייליו ויפלו כלם פגרים מתים בבקעת ארבאל וימלטו שרידים ויתקבצו בסלע ה' אלף חמש מאות ולבושי שריון מאה אלף ו"ה מאות מישראל ונחמיה בראשם ויהרגום. 51 ואחרי זאת יבא מנחם בן עמיאל ונחמיהו ואליהו ויעלו לירושלים ובחדש אב ישבו חרבות ירושלים ויהיה שמחה גדולה לישראל ויקריבו קרבניהם ויערב לה' מנחת יהודה וישראל כבראשונה וירח ריח ניחוחינו וישמח מאד בהדר הבית הבנוי למעלה והוסיף בה באורך וברוחב וירד מן המזרח וממדבר הגדול עד הים האחרון ועד הנהר הגדול נהר פרת וגם ההיכל יהיה נבנה על (נ"א חמשה) ראשי הרים. 52 ואשאל לו מה שמם ויען ויאמר לי לבנון הר המוריה ותבור וכרמל וחרמון:

53 **ואלו** הם העשרה מלכים אשר יקומו על האומות ב"ז שנים האחד סליקוס מאסמפיא. 54 השני ארממוס (נ"א ארטימוס) ממדינת הים. 55 ג' קילוס (נ"א טליס) מגיתא. 56 ד' פלואוס (נ"א פאולס) מגליא. 57 ה' רומטרוס ממורטיא. 58 ו' מקלנוס מזלטיא (נ"א מורקולוס מאטליא). 59 ז' הוא ארכטוניס מאדמיס (נ"א אכטונוס מרודמא). 60 שמיני מספליסניס (נ"א

אפעלסטוט) מארם נהרים. 61 ט' פרוס מפרסי (נ"א שירון מפרש). 62 י' ארמילוס בן שפון (נ"א מוסיף וזה סימן דמות ארמילוס שער ראשו כזהב וכבול וידיו עד עקבי רגליו וזה עינו זרת בן עין לעין ועיניו עקומות ושני קדקדין לו וכל רואיו יראו ממנו ועשרה מלכים שיבראו עמו יקומו על האומות). 63 מיד אחריו והיתה לה' המלוכה. 64 ועינינו תראנה הקריה הנסוכה אשר בגלות נמשכה בחטאנו עד הנה התוחלת נמשכה (נ"א מיד והיתה לה' המלוכה במהרה בימינו):

סליק ספר זרובבל:

The Book of Zerubbabel.

1. The message which came to Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel, the Prince of Judah; (*v.r.* he showed me there) this vision. 2. I was praying before the Lord in a trance, the vision which I saw at the River Kebar, when I said (*v.r.* and saying), "Blessed are you, Lord, who raises the dead."

3. My heart murmured within me, saying, "How will be the appearance of the eternal Temple?"

4. And he answered me from the doors of heaven, and said to me, "Are you, Zerubbabel, Prince of Judah?"

5. And I said, "I am your servant."

6. And a voice came forth to me (*v.r.* and answered me) and spoke to me as a man speaks to his friend. 7. His voice I heard, but his form I did not see. 8. And I rose and prayed as before, and I said (*v.r.* and I concluded) my prayer and I returned to my house.

9. And on the eleventh day of Adar (*v.r.* of the month) he was speaking with me and he said to me, "Come to me. Ask of me."

10. And I said, "What should I ask for? 11. Few (*v.r.* short) are the days [until] my end, and I am completing my days."

12. And he said to me, "I will revive you." 13. And he said to me, "Be revived."

14. And a wind lifted me up between the heavens and the earth, and brought me to Nineveh the great city, and it is a city of blood. And I was in great distress. And I arose from distress to pray and entreat the face of the God of Israel. And I confessed my transgression and my sin, and said, "I am the one who has sinned, transgressed, and

become guilty, which has led to my grief.⁶ 15. You are he who is the God of Israel, who made everything by the breath of your mouth, and at your word the dead will live."

16. And the Lord said to me, "Go to the house of shame (*v.r.* house of pleasure), the place of desire."⁷ 17. And I went as he commanded me. 18. And he said to me, "Turn and go further off." 19. And I turned and it wearied me. And I saw a man despised and crushed.

20. The man who was crushed and despised said to me, "Zerubbabel, what (*v.r.* business) are you doing here?"

21. And I answered and said, "The Spirit of the Lord lifted me up, to where (*v.r.* to this city) I know not, and brought me to this place."

22. And he said to me, "Do not fear, because it was in order to be shown this that you were brought here."

23. And when I heard his words I was reassured, and I asked him, "What is the name of this place?"

24. And he said, "This is great Rome in which I am bound in prison until my appointed time."

(*v.r.* And I said to him, "My Lord, who are you, and what do you want, and what are you doing here?"

And he said to me, "I am the Messiah of the Lord, who am bound here until the time of the end.") 25. When I heard this, I hid my face for a moment before him, and again I looked at him, and again I hid [my face] because I was afraid. 26. And he told me, "Do not fear and do not be dismayed. Why are you silent?"

27. And I said, "I have heard of your fame, for you are the Messiah of my God." 28. And thereupon he seemed to me like a youth, the perfection of beauty and loveliness, a peerless young man. 29. And I said to him, "When will the light of Israel shine?"

30. And as I was speaking to him, behold! a winged man came to me and he said to me, (*v.r. adds:* "What more will you ask the Messiah of the Lord?

And I answered and said, "When will the time of redemption come?"

⁶ Or possibly, *led to my grievous offence*.

⁷ Or possibly, *the house of exchange* (*v.r.* house of pleasure), *the market place*. תורף was the binding passage in a legal document (Jastrow, II:1658). But תורפה and תורף also mean *decay*, *filth*, and the phrase בית התורפה/תורף מקום is attested as meaning *obscenity* or *genitalia* (Jastrow, II:1658). שוק can denote both *sexual desire* and *market* (Jastrow, II:1540-41). I have chosen the more lascivious interpretation as that seems to be the one favoured by the alternative reading בית הלצות. The double meaning may be intended, possibly indicating the kind of business transacted in certain quarters of the market.

And he told me) that he⁸ was the commander of Israel's host who fought with Sennacherib and with the kings of Canaan, and he is destined to fight the war of the Lord with the Messiah of the Lord, and with the brazen-faced king, and Armilus ben Eben, who came out of the stone.⁹

31. And Metatron spoke again and he told me, "I am the angel who led Abraham in all the land of Canaan, and I am he who preserved Isaac, and wrestled with Jacob at the fords of the Jabbok. I am he who led Israel in the wilderness for forty years in the name of the Lord. I am he who appeared to Joshua at Gilgal. And I am he whose name is like the name of my master, and his name is in my inmost being. 32. And you, Zerubbabel, ask me and I will tell how he will call your people in the latter days."

33. And he said to me, "This is the Messiah of the Lord, who is hidden here until the time of the end." (*v.r.* And he said to me, "[This is] Messiah of the Lord who will come at the time of the end, and his name is Menahem ben Ammiel, and he was born in the days of David, King of Israel, and a wind took him up and hid him here until the time of the end.")

And I asked Metatron, and he said to me, "The blessed Lord will give a sceptre of deliverance to Hefzibah, the mother of Menahem, and a star will shine before her and she will go forth and kill two kings. The first is Noph from Teman, and the name of the second is Antioch (*v.r.* Asarnu from Antioch). And these signs will take place in the Feast of Weeks, and the message will come true (*v.r. adds:* when he is killed). And when the city is built 420 years it will be desolated a second time, and [there will be] twenty years of servitude (*v.r.* Roman oppression) to Rome. And they will make seventy kings rule in it. And when ten kings have been completed in it, the tenth will desolate the sanctuary, and cause the daily burnt offering to turn aside. And from that day 990 years will be reckoned to you, [and then] will be the salvation of the Lord. And he will remember his holy people, to redeem them, and take them, and carry them, and gather them. 34. And the staff which the Lord will give to Hefzibah, the mother of Menahem, is of almond (*v.r.* of [the wood of] almond trees), and it is hidden in Rakkat (*v.r. adds:* a town of Naphtali). 35. And it is the staff of Aaron, and Moses, and David, King of Israel. 36. And it is the staff which sprouted in the Tent of Meeting, and gave forth flowers, and bore almonds, and Elijah ben Eleazar hid it in Rakkat, which is Tiberias. And there Messiah ben Ephraim hid it."¹⁰

⁸ The latter part of the sentence suggests that the pronoun indicates the winged man, Metatron, rather than the Messiah.

⁹ For Armilus origin as the offspring of Satan and a statue, see SefZ 40; OM 7:2-3.

¹⁰ Moore, *Judaism*, II:358n, notes that some rabbinic literature identifies Elijah with Phineas (eg. PRE 66b). Such a belief would account for Elijah's patronymic here. Stranger still is the apparent identification of Elijah with Messiah ben Ephraim, a belief which I am aware of nowhere else.

37. And Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel answered (*v.r.* and said to Michael) and said, "Please, my Lord, when will the light of Israel come, and what will be after all this?"

38. And he said to me, "Messiah ben Joseph will come five years after Hefzibah, and will gather all Israel as one man. And they will remain forty years in Jerusalem and will offer sacrifice. And then the King of Persia will go up against Israel and there will be great distress in Israel. And Hefzibah, wife of Nathan the prophet, will go forth with the staff which the Lord will give her. And the Lord will give them [the Persian army] a spirit of dizziness and they will kill each other, and wickedness will die there."

39. And when I heard his words I fell on my face and said to him, "Tell me the truth concerning the holy nation."

40. And he took me and showed me a stone in the shape of a woman, and he said to me, "Satan will lie with this stone, [and it will become pregnant,] and Armilus will come out of it. And he will rule over all the world and no-one will stand before him, and all who will not believe in him will die by his heavy sword. And he will enter the land of Israel with ten kings, [and they will go] to Jerusalem, and there they will kill Messiah ben Joseph and sixteen righteous ones with him. And Israel will be exiled in the wilderness, but Hefzibah, the mother of Menahem, will remain there. That evil one will not enter (and that evil one will not see). And this war will be in the month of Ab.

41. And there and then there will be trouble for Israel such as never was like it ever in the world. And they will flee into towers, and caves in the wilderness. All the nations of the world will encamp behind this evil Satan¹¹ Armilus, except Israel. All Israel will mourn Nehemiah ben Hoshiel who was slain. His corpse will be thrown before the gate of Jerusalem, but the beasts and the birds will not touch it."

42. When I heard his words it distressed me greatly (*v.r. adds:* about the slaying of ben Joseph and about all Israel). And I arose to pray before the Lord, and he heard and sent his angel to me, and I knew that he was the angel who had been speaking to me, and I fell prostrate before him.

43. And he said to me, "What is wrong with you, Zerubbabel?"

44. And I said to him, "A spirit terrified me."

45. And Metatron stood and answered, and said, "Zerubbabel, ask of me before I go away from you."

46. And I asked him and said, "When will the light of Israel come?"

47. And he answered me and said, "As the Lord lives, who sent me, I will tell you the deed of the blessed Lord. For the holy voice sent me to tell you everything that you may ask."

¹¹ Or *adversary*.

48. And Michael said to me, "Draw near to me, and give heed to what I say to you, for the message is true, in the name of the living God." 49. And he said to me, "Menahem ben Ammiel will come suddenly in the month of Nisan and stand on the Valley of Arbel,¹² and all the sages of Israel will go out to him. And ben Ammiel will say to them, "I am the Messiah, whom the Lord has sent to announce good news to you, and to save you from the hand of your enemies." But the sages will regard him and despise him, like you yourself despised him (*v.r. adds*: and did not believe in him). And his anger will burn in him, and he will put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and he will go to the gates of Jerusalem, and Elijah with him, and they will awaken and revive Nehemiah (*v.r. ben Shealtiel*,¹³ who was slain). And they [the sages] will believe in him.

50. And so Metatron swore to me that for the completion of the desolation of Jerusalem [there will be] 990 years, [and then] will be the salvation of the Lord. Menahem ben Ammiel and Elijah will stand beside the Great Sea and read aloud from the prophets, and all the corpses of the Israelites, who threw themselves into the sea because of their captivity, will come out. And then the assembly of Korah will ascend, and they will come with Moses. And those who died in the wilderness will live, and gather to the host of the Korahites. And the blessed Lord will descend upon the Mount of Olives, and the Mount will split at his shout. And he will fight with those nations, and like a man of war he will stir up his zeal. Messiah ben David will come, and he will blow into the nostrils of Armilus, and they will kill him. All Israel will see the return of the Lord to Zion eye to eye, (*v.r. adds*: as it is said, *Eye to eye they will see the return of the Lord to Zion* [Isa 52:8]), like a man of war, and a helmet of salvation upon his head, and clad in a breastplate. And he will make war with Armilus and with his troops, and all of them will fall down dead corpses in the Valley of Arbel. The survivors, 5,500 of them, will escape and assemble in Sela.¹⁴ But 100,500 from Israel, clad in armour and with Nehemiah at their head, will kill them.

51. And after this Menahem ben Ammiel will come, and Nehemiah and Elijah, and they will ascend to Jerusalem. In the month of Ab they will restore¹⁵ the ruins of Jerusalem and there will be great joy for Israel. They will present their offerings, and the sacrifice of Judah and Israel will be pleasing to the Lord as in the beginning. He

¹² In Galilee, near Zephoris.

¹³ Messiah ben Joseph bears the pseudonym Nehemiah ben Hoshiel, in this text (41) and elsewhere (*Otot ha Mashiah* 6:5; 7:7-11). But Nehemiah ben *Shealtiel* would seem to be a reference to the biblical Nehemiah, whom some later traditions identify with biblical Zerubbabel [J. Dan, "Zerubbabel, Book of," *EJ* 16:1002]. The text may therefore be saying that the historical Zerubabel will reappear.

¹⁴ That is, Petra of the Edomites (cf. Judg 1:36; 2Ki 14:7; Isa 16:1), continuing the identification of Rome and Edom.

¹⁵ That is, taking *ישבו* as defective for *ישיבו*, the Hiphil of *שׁוּב*, a variant attested at Dt 1:22.

will smell the odour of our sweet incense, and he will rejoice greatly in the splendour of the Temple superbly rebuilt, and he will increase its length and breadth. He will rule from the sunrise and from the Great Desert to the Western Sea and to the great river, River Euphrates.¹⁶ Moreover the Temple will be built on (v.r. five) mountaintops.

52. And I asked him, "What are their names?"

And he replied and said to me, "Lebanon, Mount Moriah, Tabor, Carmel, and Hermon." 53. And these are the ten kings which will arise over the nations for seven years. The first: Seleucus from Spain.¹⁷ 54. The second Armanius¹⁸ (v.r. Artimus) from the province of the sea. 55. Three: Killus¹⁹ (v.r. Tallis) from Geta. 56. Four: Paluus (v.r. Paulus) from Gallia.²⁰ 57. Five: Romatrius from Mauretania.²¹ 58. Six: Meclinius from Zaltaia (v.r. Mercurius from Italia²²). 59. Seven: he is Arctonius from Adamius (v.r. Actonius from Rodamia). 60. Eighth: Maspalsinium (v.r. Aphalistius) from Aram Naharaim. 61. Nine: Paros of the Persians (v.r. Shiron from Persia). 62. Ten: Armilus ben Shaphon. (v.r. adds: And this is the distinguishing mark of Armilus' appearance. The hair of his head is like gold and like straw, and his hands [reach] to his heels. This is [the appearance of] his eye. [There is] a span between one eye and the other, and his eyes are crooked. He has two heads, and all who see him are afraid of him. Ten kings, who will be created together with him, will arise over the nations.) 63. Immediately after him, the kingdom will be the Lord's. 64. Our eyes will see the long-awaited city, which, in the prolonged exile for our sins until today, has been our prolonged hope. (v.r. Thereupon the kingdom will be the Lord's. [May it be] soon, in our days.)

The End of the Book of Zerubbabel.

¹⁶ The apocopated form, ירד, of ירדה is attested (BDB, 922) and I am assuming that such is the case here. The standard imperfect of ירד would be possible if the reference were to the boundary of the Temple going down from the east (cf. BDB, 433). But the enormous extent of the area and the similarity to the language of Ps 72:8 suggests that the latterday *malkut* and not the temple boundary is in view.

¹⁷ Assuming אסמפיא is אספמיה, *Hispania*.

¹⁸ Assuming ארמניס is equivalent to ארמניה, which may derive from ארמניה *Armania* (Romania).

¹⁹ Killus was one of the generals who came against Jerusalem under Vespasian (LamR to 1:5).

²⁰ *Gallia* may indicate either (1) Gaul in Europe (Yeb 63a) or (2) Galatia in Asia Minor (RH 26a; Keth 60a).

²¹ Assuming מורטיא is defective for מורטיא.

²² Assuming מורקוליס equals מרקוליס, which denotes the Roman deity Mercury at mSanh 7:6; Sanh 64a; yAZ 4:1 (50a); TosAZ 6(7):13; BM 25b.

'Asereth Melakhim.

The text of this midrash is from Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim*, II:461-66. It concerns the ten kings who rule from one end of the earth to the other, a theme occurring also in PRE 81a, the Second Targum to Esther 1, and the Yalkut Shimoni on Kings 13. This particular form of the midrash names the ten omnipotentates as the Holy One, the first and last, with Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander of Macedon, and Messiah ben David, as the second to ninth kings. According to Eisenstein, the references to Islamic rulers in the midrash indicate a date of composition about the middle of the eighth century.¹ The following extract is the latter half of the fourth and final paragraph.² The sentences of Eisenstein's text have been enumerated.

עשרת מלכים

4.11 ואחר כל זאת אם לא זכו ישראל יעמוד מלך עז פנים ויהרוג את מלך בני מזרח בירח אב ויגזור גזרות על ישראל, ויבטל המועדים והשבחות שנאמר ויסבר להשניה זמנין ודת ויתיהבון בידיה עד עידן ועידנין ופלג עידן (דניאל ז') עידן שנה עידנין שנתים ופלג חצי שנה. 12 ואח"כ יעמוד מלך ושמו מושיב ומשיב כל מי שהוא עובד ע"ז שנאמר וזעם על ברית קודש (דניאל י"א) וימלוך ט' חדשים שנא' לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה (מיכה ה') וכמה עת יולדה ט' חדשים. 13 ואחר כל זאת ירד השטן וילך ברומי לצורת האבן ויתחבר עמה כדרך מעשה ותתעבר האבן ותלד את ארמילוס וימלוך ארבעים יום וידיו קשים יותר מארבעים סאה וגזור גזירות רעות על ישראל ויפסקו אנשי מעשה וירבו אנשי גזל, אם זכו ישראל יצמח משיח בן יוסף בגליל העליון ויעלה לירושלם ויבנה ההיכל ויקריב קרבנות ותרד אש ותאכל קרבנותיו וישבו ישראל כל ימיו לבטח. 14 ויעלה חיל גוג ויחריב ירושלם ויהרוג את משיח בן יוסף, הדא הוא דכתיב יתיצבו מלכי ארץ וגו' (תהלים ב'), וישראל סופדין ובוכין את משיח שנאמר והביטו אליו את אשר דקרו וספדו עליו (זכריה י"ב) ויתחלקו לארבע כתות, ג' מהן ילכו בגולה והאחת תותר שנאמר ויתר העם לא יכרת מן העיר (שם י"ד). 15 ואח"כ יצא הקב"ה להלחם עמהם שנאמר ויצא ה' ונלחם בגוים ההם כיום הלחמו ביום קרב

¹ Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, II:461.

² Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, II:466.

(שם) מה כתיב תמן ועמדו רגליו ביום ההוא על הר הזיתים, ואומר וזות תהיה המגפה וגו'. 16 והקב"ה יתקע בשופר גדול ואומר לצפון תני ולתימן אל תכלאי (ישעיה מ"ג) ואומר ופדויי ה' ישובון (שם ל"ה) ואומר לאמר לאסורים צאו ולאשר בחשך הגלו (שם מ"ט), לאסורים צאו אלו שבנהר סמבטיון שהם באסורים, ולאשר בחשך הגלו אלו ט' השבטים וחצי שהם יושבים [מתחת להרי חשך]. 17 והקב"ה יקבץ אותם ויעלם לירושלם וינחם אותם בכפלים שנאמר אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם (שם נ"א). 18 אמרו ישראל לפני הקב"ה רבש"ע חטאנו לפניך על ההרים, אמר להם אני מעבירם שנאמר כי ההרים ימושו (שם נ"ד). 19 ועוד אמרו קלקלנו בחמה ובלבנה, אמר להם אני מעבירם שנאמר וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה (שם כ"ד). 20 וישלח הקב"ה את אליהו שישמח לבם של ישראל שנאמר הנה אנכי שולח לכם את אליה הנביא (מלאכי ג'), ומבשר להם בשורות שלום וטובות שנאמר מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר וגו' (ישעיה נ"ב) עד שחזרה המלכות לבית דוד. 21 המלך התשיעי זה משיח בן דוד שימלוך מסוף העולם ועד סופו שנאמר וירד מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ (תהלים ע"ב), וישבו ישראל לבטח אלפים שנה ויאכלו את בהמות ואת לוייתן וזיו שדי, ולקץ אלפים שנה יתקבצו לדין שנאמר יחיינו מיומים ביום השלישי יקימנו ונחיה לפניו, זה יום הדין אשרי מי שזוכה בו [ואז ימלוך הקב"ה והוא המלך העשירי]. 22 הקב"ה יזכנו בו עם כל ישראל אמן ואמן.

23 בריך רחמנא דסייען,
ברוך נותן ליעף כח
ולאין אונים עצמה ירבה.

The Ten Kings.

4.11. And after all this, if Israel are not pure, a brazen-faced king will arise, and he will kill the king of the sons of the east in the month of Ab. And he will decree decrees against Israel, and abolish the appointed feasts and Sabbaths, as it is said, *And he will think to change the times and the law, and they shall be given into his hand for a time, times, and half a time* [Dan 7:25]. *A time* [is] a year, *times* [is] two years, and *half a time* [is] half a year. 12. After this a king will arise, and his name is Moshiv, and he will restore³ [to power] all who serve idols, as it is said, *And he will vent his fury against*

³ Hebrew: *meshiv*.

the holy covenant [Dan 11:30]. And he will rule nine months, as it is said, *Therefore he shall give them up until the time when she who is in labour has given birth* [Mic 5:2(3)]. And what is the time for giving birth? Nine months.

13. And after all this Satan will descend and go into Rome to a stone statue, and will couple with it in a miraculous manner. And the stone will become pregnant and give birth to Armilus, and he will rule forty days. And his hands are heavier than forty *seahs*.⁴ And he decrees evil decrees against Israel. And men of deed⁵ cease and men of violence increase. If Israel are worthy, Messiah ben Joseph will spring forth in Upper Galilee. And he will ascend to Jerusalem, and build the Temple, and offer sacrifices. And fire will come down and consume his sacrifices. And all his days Israel will live in safety. 14. And the army of Gog will ascend and destroy Jerusalem and kill Messiah ben Joseph. This is that which is written: *The kings of the earth set themselves, etc. [and rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Messiah.* (Ps 2:2)]. And Israel mourn and lament Messiah, as it is said, *And they shall look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn for him* [Zech 12:10]. And they will divide into four groups; three of them will go into exile and one will remain, as it is said, *But the rest of the people shall not be cut off from the city* [Zech 14:2]. 15. And after that the Holy One, blessed be he, will go forth to fight with them, as it is said, *And the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations, as he fights on a day of battle* [Zech 14:2], as it is written in the same place, *And on that day his feet will stand on the Mount of Olives* [Zech 14:4], and it says, *And this will be the plague, etc. [with which the Lord will smite all the nations that fight against Jerusalem* (Zech 14:12)]. 16. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will blow on a great shofar, *and he will say to the north, 'Give them up!' and to the south, 'Do not withhold!'* [Bring my sons from afar and my daughters from the end of the earth (Isa 43:6)]. And it says, *The redeemed of the Lord shall return* [Isa 35:10]. And it says, *Saying to the captives, 'Come forth!'* and to those in darkness, *'Be free!'* [Isa 49:9]. *To the captives, 'Come forth!'* – these are those at the River Sambation,⁶ who are in captivity. *And to those in darkness, 'Be free!'* [Isa 49:9] – these are the nine and a half tribes, who are dwelling [beneath the Dark Mountains].⁷ 17. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will gather them, and they

⁴ That is, about 300 kg. Armilus will rule heavy-handedly.

⁵ That is, wonder-workers.

⁶ סַמְבַּטִּיּוֹן or more often סַבְּטִיּוֹן *Sabbation*, a legendary river said to rest on the seventh day. There was a tradition that the ten tribes were exiled within its confines (GenR 73; ySanh 10 (29c bot.); Tg. Y. Ex 34:10).

⁷ The phrase is bracketed in Eisenstein. The Dark Mountains were the mountain range behind which the Amazons were said to dwell (LevR s. 27; bTam 32a). The mention of Carthage in these legends seems to point to a location in Africa.

will ascend to Jerusalem, and he will comfort them with a double measure, as it is said, *I, I am he who comforts you* [Isa 51:12].

18. Israel say in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he, 'Lord of the Universe, we sinned before you upon the mountains.'

He says to them, 'I will remove them,' as it is said, *For the mountains will depart* [Isa 54:10].⁸

19. And again they say, 'We have disgraced ourselves by [worshipping] the sun and moon.'

He says to them, 'I will remove them,' as it is said, *The moon will be abashed and the sun ashamed* [Isa 24:23].

20. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will send Elijah, who will gladden the heart of Israel, as it is said, *Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet* [Mal 3:23 (4:5)]. And he proclaims to them tidings of peace and happiness, as it is said, *How lovely on the mountains are the feet of a herald of good news*, etc. [Isa 52:7], until the kingdom returns to the house of David.

21. **The Ninth King.** This is Messiah ben David who will rule from one end of the earth to the other, as it is said, *And he will rule from sea to sea and from the River to the ends of the earth* [Ps 72:8]. And Israel will dwell in peace one thousand years, and they will eat Behemoth, Leviathan, and Ziz of the fields.⁹ And at the end of a thousand years they will be gathered for judgment, as it is said, *After two days he will revive us; on the third day he will restore us, that we may live before him* [Hos 6:2]. This is the day of judgment. Blessed is the one who is acquitted upon it. [And then the Holy One, blessed be he, will reign, and he is the tenth king.¹⁰] 22. The Holy One, blessed be he, acquit us upon it, together with all Israel. Amen and Amen.

Blessed be the Merciful One who helps us.
Blessed be he who gives to the weary strength,
and increases the power of the powerless.

⁸ Or possibly the direct speech should close after the biblical quotation in this and the following sentence.

⁹ A traditional interpretation of the phrase, זִיז שָׂדֵי, which occurs in Ps 50:11, associates it with a fabulous bird, the Ziz (LevR 22 [end]; bBB 73b; NRSbY 33).

¹⁰ Eisenstein gives this variant reading in a footnote.

Pirqê Mashiah.

The following is an extract from Jellinek's text of *Sefer Eliyahu u-Pirqê Mashiah we-Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai* (BHM III:65-82), the title deriving from the subscript to the third section of the manuscript: תם ספר אליהו ז"ל ופרקי משיח ונסתרות ר'. שמעון בן יוחי This extract comprises paragraph five and part of paragraph six of the middle section, *Pirqê Mashiah* (BHM III:70-74). Jellinek, who reckons the work originated in Persia of the gaonic period, took his text from a collection published in Thessalonica in 1743.¹ The text appears to be either somewhat corrupt or else marked by dialect elements.²

5 ועתה נאמר בשבחו של מלך המשיח שעתיד לבוא עם ענני שמיא ושני שרפים מימינו ומשמאלו שנאמר וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתי הוא. 2 דור שבן דוד בא שרפי אש נשלחים בהיכל וכוכבים נראים כאש בכל מקום ודבר שלש שנים זו אחר זו וזהו שלוחו של הקב"ה שנא' לפניו ילך דבר ויצא רשף לרגליו שנאמר רשפיה רשפי אש. 3 ובשנה השלישית של דבר גליות מכפרין בו ובסוף השנה המלך יהרג ובורחים במדברות והארץ תצעק ממקומה ותלמידי חכמים ימותו בוגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו ומחזיק בה מקרא אחר ועוד בה עשירי' ושבה והיתה לבער. 4 ושנה חמישית בא ונתגלה בכל המלכיות המלכים כולם מתגרים זה בזה מלך פרס עם מלך ערביא ומחריבה שנאמר ונלחמו איש באחיו וגו' ממלכה בממלכה. 5 ובשעה שאדום נופלת מקול מפלתה ירעשו שמים וארץ וחצי העולם ילכד בשבילה שנא' ה' ממרום ישאג וממעון קדשו יתן קולו. 6 ועתיד הב"ה לקבצם המונים ולמסור אותם ביד ישראל שנאמר ונתתי נקמתי באדום ביד עמי ישראל. 7 ועתיד הקב"ה להביא שר של אדום ומלקה אותו ושר של אדום אומר היכן אברח אלך במצרים שכינה שם שנאמר הנה ה' רוכב על עב קל ובא מצרים. 8 אברח באדום שכינה שם שנאמר מי זה בא מאדום. 9 אברח לבבל שכינה שם שנאמר למענכם שולחתי בבלה. 10 אברח בעילם שכינה שם שנאמר ושמתי כסאי בעילם. 11 משל לשועל שאמר לה הארי תן לי מכס עמדה וברחה מהלך שלשה ימים ועוד אחזתה הארי ואמר לה תן לי המכס אף בזה המקום אמר לו אני ממך ברחתי אמר לה עדיין את במקומי עומדת. 12 כך

¹ Jellinek, BHM III:xviii-xix.

² Note for instance the ה-suffix on מחריבה following a masc. pl. subject (4), the changes of gender suffix to the verbs in the parable of the lion and the vixen (11), and the plural part. מכנים following a singular subject (67).

עתיד הקב"ה לומר לשרו של אדום המפני יש לך להסתר והקב"ה נותנו בידי ישראל. 13 ועתיד הקב"ה ללבוש בגדי נקם ולהנקם משבעים אומות שנאמר לי נקם ושלם. 14 וללבוש עשרה מלבושים כנגד עשרה פעמי' שנקראו ישראל כלה להשם ואלו הן באתי לגני אחותי כלה. 15 אתי מלבנון כלה. 16 גן נעול אחותי כלה. 17 מה יפו דודיך אחותי כלה. 18 נפת תטפנה שפתותיך כלה. 19 לבבתיני אחותי כלה. 20 קול חתן וקול כלה. 21 ותקשרם ככלה. 22 ומשוש תתן על כלה. 23 וככלה תעדה כליה. 24 ואלו הן עשרה מלבושים ה' מלך גאות לבש בברייתו של עולם. 25 לבש ה' עוז התאזר ביום מתן תורה. 26 וילבש צדקה כשריון ביום שמוסר אומות העולם לישראל. 27 וילבש בגדי נקם תלבושת ביום מפלתה של אדום. 28 חמוץ בגדים מבצרה ביום שעושה מלחמה עם אומות העולם. 29 זה הדור בלבושו ביום גוג ומגוג. 30 ויז נצחם על בגדי במלכות איטל'. 31 ואלו שני לבושים ביום תחיית המתים שנאמר ברכי נפשי את ה' הוד והדר לבשת. 32 מדוע אדום ללבושך. 33 ביום שהקב"ה אוחו חרבו ועושה מלחמה שנאמר אשכיר חצי מדם וחרבי תאכל בשר. 34 ונתתי נקמתי באדום ביד עמי ישראל. 35 קודם שתפול אדום יחרבו עשרה מקומות וי' מקומות יהפכו וי' שופרות יתקעו וי' קולות ישמעו וט"ו מדינות יקטלו וי' רעות יהיו וי' רעות נובעות ומלך עז פנים יעמוד וגזרות רעות יגזור במלכותו. 36 ומלך גדול יצא על אלכסנדריא במחנה. 37 ורעה גדולה תהיה בעולם ושלש שנים ומחצה ימשול וימרוד. 38 ושרי אדום יפלו וי' מלחמות יהיו ואז יתגברו ישראל על כל האומות. 39 ונתתי נקמתי באדום. 40 ספינות מארץ ישראל עתידין לילך לאדום וישראל אומר מה לנו ולאדום שנאמר מי יובילני עיר מצור מי נחני עד אדום. 41 וישראל הולכים וחונים על צור מ' יום ובסוף מ' יום עומדים בעת קרית שמע ואומרים שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד. 42 וחומות המדינה נופלות והמדינה נכבשת מפניהם ובורחים בתוכה כל כסף וזהב והשאר שושים אותה ומשם לרומי ומביאין כלי בית המקדש ומלך נחמיה המשיח יצא עמהם ובאים לירושלים. 43 וישראל אומרים למלך הערביים בית המקדש שלנו הוא קח כסף וזהב ותניח בית המקדש ומלך הערבים אומר אין לכם במקדש הזה כלום אבל אם אתם בוחרים לכם בראשונה קרבן כמו שהייתם עוסקים מקדם וגם אנחנו מקריבים ומי שנתקבל קרבנו נהיה כולנו אומה א'. 44 וישראל מקריבין ואינן מתקבלין לפי שהשטן מקטרג לפני הקב"ה ובני קדר מקריבין ומתקבלין שנאמר כל צאן קדר יקבצו לך. 45 באותה שעה הערביים אומרים לישראל בואו ותאמינו באמונתנו וישראל משיבין אותם אם אנו הורגים ונהרגים ואין אנו כופרים בעיקר באותה שעה חרבו' נשלפות וקשתות נדרכות וחיצים נזרקים ומפילים חללים משער אפרים עד שער הפינה ונחמיה נהרג עמהם והנמלטים מהם יברחו למדבר מואב ולארץ בני עמון ושם עמדו פליטי ישראל ההם ויעשה השם להם שם נסים ומעין יצא להם מתהומות שנאמר יגורו בך נדחי מואב

וַיֹּאכְלוּ שֵׁם שְׂרָשֵׁי רִתְמִים מִ"ה יָמִים וּבִסּוּף מִ"ה יָמִים יִצְמִיחַ שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיוּ וּמֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ עָלָיו וְשֵׁם יִבְשָׁר לָהֶם אֱלֹהֵיוּ וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה לָּכֶם פֶּה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּיִשְׂרָאֵל מְשִׁיבִין וְאוֹמְרִים אֲבָדְנוּ נִחְרַבְנוּ וְאֱלֹהֵיוּ אוֹמֵר לָהֶם קוֹמוּ כִּי אֱלֹהֵיוּ אֲנִי וְזֶה מֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ וְאֵינָם מֵאֲמִינִים בּוֹ לִפִּי שְׂבָא נַחְמִיָּה וְנִהְרָג וְהוּא אוֹמֵר לָהֶם שְׂמָא אַתֶּם מִבְּקָשִׁים אוֹת כְּמִשָּׁה וְהֵם אוֹמְרִי הֵן. 46 בְּאוֹתָהּ שְׁעָה יַעֲשֶׂה ז' נְסִים. 47 הֵנִס הָרָאשׁוֹן מִבֵּיא לָהֶם מִשָּׁה וְדוֹרוֹ מִן הַמְּדַבֵּר שְׁנֹאמֵר אֲסַפּוּ לִי חֲסִידִי. 48 הֵנִס הַב' מַעֲלָה לָהֶם קֶרֶחַ וְכָל עֲדָתוֹ שְׁנֹאמֵר תִּשְׁוֹב תַּחֲיִינוּ וּמִתְהוֹמּוֹת הָאָרֶץ תִּשְׁוֹב תַּעֲלִינוּ. 49 הֵנִס הַג' מַעֲמִיד לָהֶם נַחְמִיָּה שְׁנִהְרָג. 50 הֵנִס הַד' מַגְלָה לָהֶם גְּנִיזַת הָאָרֶץ וְצִנְצֻנַת הַמֶּן וְשִׁמֵּן הַמִּשְׁחָה. 51 הֵנִס הַה' נוֹתֵן הַקֶּבֶ"ה מִטָּה עוֹז בִּידּוֹ שְׁנֹא עוֹךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְגו'. 52 הו' טוֹחֵן כָּל הָרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּקְמָה שְׁנֹאמֵר אַחֲרֵיב הָרִים וְגִבְעוֹת. 53 הֵנִס הו' יִגְלָה לָהֶם הַסּוּד שְׁנֹאמֵר זֹאת אוֹת הַבְּרִית. 54 וְכִיוֵּן שְׂרֹאִים אֵת הַנְּסִים הִלְלוּ מִשְׁלָחִים וְאוֹמְרִים לְכָל הַשְּׂרִים הַבּוֹזִזִים לִירוּשָׁלַם בּוֹאוּ וְהִלַּחְמוּ בָהֶם יֵצְאוּ מִזּוֹמְנִין אַחֲרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּיִשְׂרָאֵל אוֹמְרִים לְמֶלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ לֹא טוֹב לָנוּ לִשְׁבֹּת לְמָה בָּאת לְהַתְּגַרְוִי בְּנוּ מִלַּחְמָה בְּרֹאשׁוֹנָה וְהַמֶּלֶךְ הַמָּשִׁיחַ אוֹמֵר לָהֶם הִתִּיצְבוּ וְרֹאוּ אֵת יִשׁוּעַת ה' וְהוּא נוֹפֵחַ בָּהֶם בְּרוּחַ פִּיּוֹ וְכוֹלֵם יִפְּלוּ חֲלָלִים לִפְנֵי שְׁנֹאמֵר וּבְרוּחַ שְׁפָתָיו יִמִּית רֶשַׁע. 55 צֹא וְלִמַּד מִסִּנְחָרִיב שְׁנֹאמֵר וְהִנֵּה כָּל־פְּגָרִים מֵתִים. 56 בְּאוֹתָהּ שְׁעָה יַעֲוֹף אֱלֹהֵיוּ בְּכָל הָעוֹלָם וַיִּבְשָׁר לְיִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁנֹאמֵר הִנֵּה אֲנִכִּי שׁוֹלַח לָכֶם אֵת אֱלֹהֵיוּ הַנְּבִיא. 57 וְאוֹתוֹ יוֹם יוֹם אֲכַזְרִי וְעִבְרָה וְאוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם מִפְּסִיק בֵּין שְׁנֵי עוֹלָמִים וְרִשְׁעִים אוֹמְרִים אֵהָא לַיּוֹם כִּי קְרוֹב יוֹם ה' וְאוֹמ' הוּא הַמֵּתָאוּיִם יוֹם ה' וִירוּשָׁלַי רַחֲבָה וְנִסְכָּה כָּל אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם שְׁנֹאמֵר וְהִיא יוֹם אֶחָד הַזֶּה יוֹדַע לֵה' כו'. 58 גּוֹג וּמִגּוֹג יַעֲלֶה בּוֹ בַּיּוֹם וַיַּחֲנֶה עַל יִירוּשָׁלַם ז' יָמִים וַחֲצִי וַיִּלְכַּד יִירוּשָׁלַם וְכִנְסַת יִשְׂרָאֵל אוֹמֶרֶת לִפְנֵי הַקֶּבֶ"ה רַבּוֹנוּ שֶׁל עוֹלָם כָּל אוֹמָה וְאוֹמָה שְׁבּוּזָה אוֹתִי מִתְּבִיִּישָׁת אֲנִי לַחֲזוֹר עָלֶיהָ וְלִיקַח אֵת שְׁלֵי מִידָה וְהַבִּ"ה מְשִׁיבָה אֲנִי מִכְּנִיסָן כּוֹלֵם בְּתוֹכָךְ שְׁנֹאמֵר הִנֵּה יוֹם בָּא לֵה' וְחוֹלֵק שְׁלָלְךָ בְּקֶרֶבְךָ. 59 וְאֲסַפְתִּי אֵת כָּל הַגּוֹיִם אֶל יִירוּשָׁלַי לְמִלַּחְמָה. וְאֵלּוּ הֵם גּוֹמֵר אֲגַפִּיָּה תּוֹגְרָמָה אֲפְרִיקִי גְרַמִּית גְּרַמְמִיָּה קְפוּדְקִיא בְּרַבְרִי אִיטְלִיאָה כּוֹשׁ אֲנַדְלוֹס וְסַבָּא הַרְמֵן וְדוֹלִים אֲהַרְסֵן סְסוֹנִיָּא גְּלִיצִיאָה גּוֹצִיא לּוֹמְרִיאָה קְלַבְרִיאָה פְּנִטִיפּוֹלִי טְרִיפּוֹלִי צוֹר מַקְדוֹנִיָּה אִינְגְּלִיסִי מוֹנֵקֶךְ צִיפְרִי נִירוֹ נֶזֶן דְּרוֹנִיָּה אוֹסִיָּה טְלָקִי אֲלַמְנִיָּה טוֹרְסוֹס עִילָם וְכָל יִתִּירָה. 60 וּבְנֵי מִדְּיָנָתָהוֹן יוֹצֵאִין בְּרַמְחִים וּבַחֲרָבוֹת וּבִקְשָׁתוֹת וְכָל אֶחָד מֵהֶם מַחֲזֵק בְּדִלָת מוֹחֲזָקָת בְּמִסְמֶרֶת שְׁנֹאמֵר אִישׁ אֵת רַעְהוֹ יַעֲזוּרוּ וְנַחֲלָקוֹת לְשֹׁלֵשׁ כִּיתוֹת. 61 כֵּת רֹאשׁוֹנָה שׁוֹתָה כָּל מִימֵי טִיבְרִיָּה. 62 שְׁנִיָּה שׁוֹתָה שְׁמֵרִים. 63 שְׁלִישִׁית יַעֲבְרוּ בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ לְרַעְהוֹ הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה שֶׁל מִי הוּא וַיַּחֲרְקוּ אֲבִנֵי הָרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּסוּסֵיהֶם וְתִנְתֵּן יִירוּשָׁלַם בִּידָם וַיִּשְׁבּוּ הָעִיר וְלֹא יִהְרָגוּ אָדָם שְׁנֹאמֵר וְנִלְכְּדָה הָעִיר וְנִשְׁסוּ הַבָּתִּים וְהַנְּשִׁים תִּשְׁכַּבְנָה וַיַּעֲנוּ בְּתוֹכָהּ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים מִשְׁתֵּי מִשְׁפָּחוֹת. 64 אָמַר רַבִּי יוֹחָנָן תִּשְׁגַּלְנָה כְּתִיב לְמָה הַדְּבַר דּוֹמָה לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁנִכְנָסוּ גְּנָבִים לְפִלְטוֹרִין

שלו אמר המלך אם אני תופש אותם בביתי עכשיו הם אומרי' אין גבורתו של מלך אלא בביתו אלא ממתין אני להם עד שיצאו לחוץ. 65 כך הקב"ה אומר אם אני הורגן בירושלם עכשיו הן אומרים אין כחו אלא בירושלם אלא אמתין להם עד שיצאו להר הזיתים. 66 ושם נגלה עליהם הקב"ה בכבודו ועושה מלחמה בהם עד שלא ישתיר מהם א' שנאמר ויצא ה' ונלחם בגוים ההם כיום הלחמו ביום קרב. 67 ומכנים הקב"ה כל חיות השדה וצפרים לאכל בשרם שנאמר אמור לצפור כל כנף. 68 ושבע שנים ישרפו ישראל מעצי קשתם ותריסיהם ורמחיהם:

6 באותה שעה מלביש הקב"ה למשיח עטרה וישים כובע ישועה בראשו ויתן עליו זיו והדר ויעטרוהו בגדי כבוד ויעמידהו על הר גבוה לבשר לישראל וישמיע בקולו קרבה ישועה וישראל אומרים מי אתה והוא אומר אני הוא אפרים וישראל אומ' אתה הוא שקראך הקב"ה אפרים בכורי הוא הבן יקיר לי אפרים והוא אומר להן הן וישראל אומרים לו צא ובשר לישיני מכפלה שיעמדו תחילה. 2 באותה שעה עולה ומבשר לישיני מכפלה ואומר להם אברהם יצחק ויעקב קומו דייכם תנומה והם משיבים ואומרים מי הוא זה שמגלה עפר מעלינו והוא אומר להם אני משיח ה' קרבה ישועה קרבה השעה והם משיבים אם בודאי כן צא ומבשר לאדם הראשון שיקום תחילה. 3 באותה שעה אומרים לאדם דייך תנומה והוא אומר מי זה שמנדד שינה מעיני והוא אומר אני משיח ה' מבני בניך. 4 מיד עומד אדם הראשון וכל דורו ואברהם יצחק ויעקב וכל הצדיקים וכל השבטים וכל הדורות מסוף העולם ועד סופו ומשמיעים קול רנה וזמרה שנאמר מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר ולמה על ההרים אלא מה נאוו משה ודורו באים מן המדבר. 5 ד"א מה נאוו על ההרים משל למלך שהיו לו שני בנים ומת אחד מהם ולבשו כל בני המדינת שחורים אמר המלך לבשתם שחורים עתה במיתתו של בני הראשון אני אלבישכם לבנים בשמחתו של בני השני. 6 כך אמר הקב"ה לכל ההרים הואיל ובכיתם על בני בשעה שגלו מארצם שנאמר על ההרים אשא בכי ונהי כך אני מביא שמחתם של בני על ההרים שנאמר מה נאוו על ההרים. 7 נאה מלך המשיח מבשר לישראל וההרים ירקדו כעגלים לפניו ועצי השדה יהיו מכין כף אל כף בישועה של ישראל שנאמר כי בשמחה תצאו ובשלום וגומר. 8 מה נאים הרי ישראל מושכים חלב ודבש כנחלי מים שוטפים וגם נהרי יין שנאמר והיה ביום ההוא יטפו ההרים עסיס ומעין מבית ה' יצא והשקה את נחל השטים. 9 למה המעין דומה כשהוא יוצא מבית קודש הקדשים ועד מפתן הבית בתחילה דומה לחוט של שתי עד ההיכל דומה לחוט של ערב עד החצר דומה לקרנים וליובלאי עד המזבח דומה לקרני חגבים עד העזרה דומה לפך קטן שנאמר הנה מים מפכים ומשם יורדין כנחל שוטף וכשירין לעולה ולנדה ולחטאת.

5. Now it is said in praise of King Messiah that he is going to come with the clouds of heaven and two seraphim, [one] at his right hand and [one] at his left, as it is said, *Behold, with the clouds of heaven, one like a son of man is coming* [Dan 7:13]. 2. In the generation in which ben David comes, seraphim of fire will be sent to the Temple, and stars will seem like fire in every place, and [there will be] pestilence for three years in succession. This is sent by the Holy One, blessed be he, as it is said, *Before him goes pestilence and plague follows at his feet* [Hab 3:5], as it is said, *Its plagues are plagues of fire* [Song 8:6]. 3. In the third year of pestilence atonement will be made for the exile, and at the end of the year the king will be slain.³ And they [Israel] will flee into the deserts and the land will cry out from its place. And the disciples of the sages will die: *The treacherous betray, with treachery the treacherous betray* [Isa 24:16]. And another passage strengthens the interpretation: *And though a tenth remains in the land it will again be laid waste* [Isa 6:13]. 4. And the fifth year comes, and it transpires in all the kingdoms that all the kings will engage in battle one with another, the King of Persia with the King of Arabia, and they will destroy [one another], as it is said, *And they will fight each man with his fellow, etc, kingdom with kingdom* [Isa 19:2]. 5. And at the time when Edom falls, heaven and earth will quake from the noise of its downfall, and half the world will be captured on account of it, as it is said, *The Lord will roar from on high, and from his holy habitation utter his voice* [Jer 25:30]. 6. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will gather hordes and deliver them into the hand of Israel, as it is said, *And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel* [Ezk 25:14].

7. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will bring the Prince of Edom and flog him, and the Prince of Edom will say, "Where can I flee? If I go to Egypt, the *shekhinah* is there, as it is said, *Behold, the Lord is riding on a swift cloud and comes to Egypt* [Isa 19:1]. 8. And if I flee to Edom, the *shekhinah* is there, as it is said, *Who is this coming from Edom?* [Isa 63:1]. 9. If I flee to Babylon, the *shekhinah* is there, as it is said, *For your sake I will send to Babylon* [Isa 43:14]. 10. If I go to Elam, the *shekhinah* is there, as it is said, *And I will set my throne in Elam* [Jer 49:38]."

11. It is like [the parable of] the vixen to whom the lion said, "Pay me a toll!" She got up and ran away, a distance of three days' journey. And again the lion grabbed her and said to her, "Pay me a toll here as well!" She said to him, "I ran away from you!" He said to her, "You are still standing in my territory!" 12. Likewise the Holy One,

³ *King* probably indicates Messiah, because (1) no other king is mentioned in the context, and (2) Israel's flight into the desert is the sequel to Messiah's death both in this text and elsewhere (5.45; AgM 2.12; Otot 7.14-16; SefZ 40-41; NRY 24; Saadya, *Kitab*, VIII.5).

blessed be he, will say to the Prince of Edom, "Why are you trying to hide yourself from my face?" And the Holy One, blessed be he, will give him into the hands of Israel.

13. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will put on garments of vengeance to exact vengeance on seventy nations, as it is said, *Mine is vengeance and recompense* [Dt 32:35]. 14. And he will put on ten garments, corresponding to the ten times when Israel is called the bride of the Lord. And these are they: *I have come into my garden, my sister bride* [Song 5:1]; 15. *Come with me from Lebanon, bride* [Song 4:8]; 16. *A garden enclosed is my sister bride* [Song 4:12]; 17. *How delightful is your love, my sister bride* [Song 4:10]; 18. *Your lips drip honey, bride* [Song 4:11]; 19. *You have ravished my heart, my sister bride* [Song 4:9]; 20. *Voice of bridegroom and voice of bride* [Jer 33:11]; 21. *You shall bind them on as a bride* [Isa 49:18]; 22. *And the bridegroom rejoices over the bride* [Isa 62:5]; 23. *And as a bride adorns herself with her jewels* [Isa 61:10].

24. And these are the ten garments. *The Lord has become king, he is robed with majesty* [Ps 93:1]. [This is] at the creation of the world. 25. *The Lord is robed, he is girded with strength* [Ps 93:1]. [This is] on the day of the giving of the Torah. 26. *He will garb himself with righteousness as with a breastplate* [Isa 59:17]. [This is] on the day when he hands over the peoples of the world to Israel. 27. *And he will garb himself in garments of vengeance for clothing* [Isa 59:17]. [This is] on the day of the downfall of Edom. 28. *In crimsoned garments from Bozrah* [Isa 63:1]. [This is] on the day when he does battle with the nations of the world. 29. *He that is glorious in his apparel* [Isa 63:1]. [This is] on the day of Gog and Magog. 30. *Their lifeblood is spattered upon my garments* [Isa 63:3]. [This is] in the Kingdom of Italia.⁴ 31. And these are the two garments on the day of the resurrection of the dead, as it is said, *Bless the Lord, my soul! You are clothed with honour and majesty!* [Ps 104:1]. 32. *Why is your apparel red?* [Isa 60:2]. 33. [This is] on the day when the Holy One, blessed be he, grasps his sword and does battle, as it is said, *I will make my arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh* [Dt 32:42]. 34. *And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel* [Ezk 25:14].

35. Before Edom falls, ten places will be desolated and ten places will be destroyed, and ten shofars will sound, and ten voices will be heard, and fifteen countries will suffer massacre, and ten evils will befall, and ten evils will gush forth. And a brazen-faced king will arise and decree evil decrees in his kingdom. 36. And a great king will go forth and encamp against Alexandria. 37. And great evil will be in the world, and he will rule for three and a half years and behave lawlessly. 38. And the

⁴ *Italia* designates the southern part of the Italian peninsula, where Rome is located. Cf. Meg 6b (some texts): יון זה בך גדול של רומי *Greek Italia, that means the great city of Rome.*

princes of Edom will fall, and there will be ten wars, and then Israel will be master over all the peoples. 39. *And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom* [Ezk 25:14].

40. And ships from the land of Israel will go to Edom, and Israel will say, "What have we to do with Edom?" as it is said, *Who will bring me to the fortified city? Who will lead me to Edom?* [Ps 60:11(9)=108:11(10)].

41. And Israel will go and encamp upon a rock for forty days, and at the end of forty days they will arise at the time of recitation of *Shema* and say, "*Hear, Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one!*" [Dt 6:4]. 42. And the walls of the city will fall, the city will surrender to them, and they will pass through into it. They will plunder all the silver and gold and whatever is left, and from there they will go to Rome. They will bring out the vessels of the sanctuary, and King Nehemiah the Messiah⁵ will depart with them, and they will go to Jerusalem.

43. And Israel will say to the King of the Arabs, "This is our Temple. Take silver and gold and leave the Temple alone."

But the King of the Arabs will say, "You have no claim at all in this Temple. But if you select for yourselves, as in former days, an offering, as you did of old, then we will also bring a sacrifice, and whoever's offering is accepted, we will all become one people [with them]."

44. And Israel will sacrifice and not be accepted, because Satan will denounce them before the Holy One, blessed be he. But the sons of Kedar will sacrifice and be accepted, as it is said, *All the flocks of Kedar will gather to you, [they will come up with acceptance upon my altar]* (Isa 60:7).

45. And then the Arabs will say to Israel, "Come and believe in our religion!"

Israel will reply to them, "Even if we must fight to the death, none of us will deny the faith."

At that time swords will be drawn and bows bent and arrows loosed, and the slain will fall from the Ephraim gate to the Corner Gate. And Nehemiah will be killed with them. And the survivors will flee to the desert of Moab and the land of the sons of Ammon, and there these fugitives of Israel will remain. And the Lord will do miracles for them there. A spring will come out of the deep for them, as it is said, *The dispersed of Moab will sojourn among you* [Isa 16:4], and there they will eat roots of broom for forty-five days. At the end of forty-five days, Elijah and the King Messiah will suddenly spring up for them.

Elijah will announce good news to them, saying, "*What are you doing here* [1 Ki 19:9], Israel?"

⁵ A pseudonym of the dying messiah (cf. 45). Messiah ben Joseph is called *Nehemiah ben Hoshiel* at Otot 6:5; 7:7-11 and SefZ 41.

And Israel will reply, saying, "We have perished and are ruined!"

Elijah will say to them, "Arise, for I am Elijah, and this is the King Messiah." But none of them will believe him because Nehemiah came and was killed. And he will say to them, "Perhaps you seek a sign, like Moses?"

And they say, "Yes."

46. Then he will do seven miracles. 47. The first miracle: He will bring to them Moses and his generation from the wilderness, as it is said, *Gather to me my faithful ones* [Ps 50:5]. 48. The second miracle: He will bring up Korah and all his assembly to them, as it is said, *You will make me live again; from the depths of the earth you will bring me up again* [Ps 71:20]. 49. The third miracle: He will resurrect for them Nehemiah who was slain. 50. The fourth miracle: He will reveal to them the storeroom of the earth, and the jar of manna,⁶ and the anointing oil. 51. The fifth miracle: The Holy One, blessed be he, will give a sceptre of power into his hand, as it is said, *Your strength, Israel*, etc.⁷ 52. The sixth miracle: He will grind all the mountains of Israel like standing corn, as it is said, *I will lay waste mountains and hills* [Isa 42:15]. 53. The seventh miracle: He will reveal to them the secret, as it is said, *This is the sign of the covenant* [Gen 9:12].

54. As soon as they see these, they send and tell all the princes who are plundering Jerusalem to come and fight with them. They go forth, as invited, to pursue Israel.⁸

And Israel will say to the King Messiah, "Is it is not good for us to rest? Why have you come to engage us in battle, as of old?"

And the King Messiah will say to them, *"Stand still and see the deliverance of the Lord!"* [Ex 14:13]. And he will breathe on them [the enemies] with the breath of his mouth, and all of them will fall slain before him, as it is said, *And with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked* [Isa 11:4]. 55. [And he says,] "Go and learn from Sennacherib, as it is said, *And behold, they were all dead bodies!*" [2 Ki 19:35; Isa 37:36]. 56. At that time Elijah will fly into all the world and announce good news to Israel, as it is said, *Behold, I send you Elijah the prophet!* [Mal 3:23 (4:5)]. 57. And that day [will be] a strict and wrathful day, making a division between two epochs. And the wicked will say, "Aha for the day! For the day of the Lord is near!" And it says, *Woe to those who long for the day of the Lord* [Amos 5:18]. And Jerusalem will expand and overflow all that day, as it is said, *And that will be a unique day, known to the Lord*, etc. [Zech 14:7].

⁶ The jar of manna preserved by Aaron (Ex 16:33f.).

⁷ The phrase עוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל is not biblical. It may be a substitution for עוֹר צִיּוֹן (Isa 52:1). Or possibly, given the context of *sceptre* and messianic deliverance by ben David, it may be a corruption of [יְהוּדָה] עוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל [מַטֵּה] (Ps 110:2). Ps 110:1 is cited regarding ben David at Otot 8:4.

⁸ Or possibly, *They go forth, ready, to pursue Israel.*

58. Gog and Magog will go up on that day and encamp against Jerusalem for seven and a half days, and he will capture Jerusalem. And the community of Israel will say in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he, "Our Master of the World, I am too ashamed to return to every nation which has despoiled me and take what is mine from its hand."

And the Holy One, blessed be he, will reply to her, "I am bringing all of them into the midst of you, as it is said, *Behold, a day of the Lord is coming when your plunder will be divided in the midst of you.* 59. *And I will gather all the nations to Jerusalem for battle* [Zech 14:1-2]."

And these are they⁹: Gomer, Agpiah, Togarmah, Africa, Garmit, Garmamah,¹⁰ Cappadocia, Barbary, Italia, Cush, Andalusia, and Saba, Harmine,¹¹ and Dolim, Aharsan, Sassania, Galicia, Gozzia, Lombardia,¹² Calabria, Pentapoli, Tripoli, Tyre, Macedonia, Anglia,¹³ Monkakh, Sepphoris, Niro, Nozan, Daromea,¹⁴ Asia,¹⁵ Tiliki, Armannia,¹⁶ Tarshish, Elam, and all the rest. 60. And the sons of their provinces go forth with spears and swords and bows, and every one of them fortifies the gate, held firm by a bolt, as it is said, *Each one helps his neighbour* [Isa 41:6]. And they divide into three parties. 61. The first party drinks all the waters of [Lake] Tiberias. 62. The second drinks the sediment. 63. The third – they cross over on foot and say each to his neighbour, "This place, whose is it?" And they will cut a pass through the rocks of the mountains of Israel on their horses. And Jerusalem will be given into their hand, and they will take the city captive, but they will not kill anyone, as it is said, *And the city shall be taken, and the houses plundered, and the women lain with.*¹⁷ And, in the midst of the city, two women from two families shall be ravished.

64. Rabbi Yohanan said, "[The women] shall be used as prostitutes¹⁸ is what is written. To what shall it be compared? To a king into whose palace thieves entered.

⁹ Many of the following place names are necessarily tentative.

¹⁰ This term occurs in the Targum on Ezk 38:6 as equivalent to MT's *Gomer*. It may be equivalent to *Germania*, which occurs at Tg. Ezk 38:2, and may represent Kerman in South Persia [Fisch, *Ezekiel*, 254].

¹¹ הרמן may be defective for הרמיני or הרמיני *Harmine/Hurmine*, a province of Armenia. Or it might signify ארמון *Armon*, a place mentioned in Yeb. 45a.

¹² Assuming לומברדיאה is defective for לומברדיאה.

¹³ That seems the likeliest rendering of אנגליסי.

¹⁴ דרומיה possibly equivalent to דרומיה. *Darom* was a town in the Negev area of southern Palestine (Pes. 70b; Yeb. 45a; Zeb. 22b). *Daromea* may indicate its surrounding area, that is, the country of the Edomites.

¹⁵ This seems the likeliest rendering of אוסיה. But it may represent the tribe אוסאי referred to in Tg. Ps 120:5.

¹⁶ אלמנייה *Almania*, probably equivalent to ארמניאה *Armannia*, that is, Romania/New Rome/Constantinople.

¹⁷ The *Qere* of Zech 14:2, תשכבנה, is used in preference to the more offensive *Ketiv*, תשגלנה.

¹⁸ That is, תשגלנה.

The king said, 'If I catch them in my palace now, they will say, "The king has no power except in his palace." But I will be patient with them until they go outside [and then I shall catch them].' 65. Likewise the Holy One, blessed be he, will say, 'If I kill them in Jerusalem now, they will say, "He has no strength except in Jerusalem." But I will be patient with them until they go out to the Mount of Olives.'" 66. And there the Holy One, blessed be he, will be revealed to them in his glory, and he will do battle with them until not one of them remains, as it is said, *And the Lord will go forth and fight against those nations as when he fights on a day of battle* [Zech 14:3]. 67. And the Holy One, blessed be he, will summon all the beasts of the field and the birds to eat their flesh, as it is said, *Speak to the birds of every sort* [Ezk 39:17]. 68. And for seven years Israel will burn the wood of their bows and shields and spears.

6. At that time the Holy One, blessed be he, will endue Messiah with a crown, and put *a helmet of salvation upon his head* [Isa 59:17], and bestow splendour and majesty upon him, and adorn him in glorious apparel, and set him upon a high mountain to announce victory to Israel. And he will proclaim, "Deliverance has come."

And Israel will say, "Who are you?"

And he will say, "It is I, Ephraim!"

And Israel will say, "Are you he whom the Holy One, blessed be he, called '*Ephraim, my firstborn*' [Jer 31:9]. '*Is not Ephraim my dear son*'?" [Jer 31:20].

And he will say to them, "Yes."

And Israel will say to him, "Go and announce the good news to the sleepers of Makhpelah, who will arise as of old."¹⁹

2. At that time he will go up and announce the news to the sleepers of Makhpelah, and say to them, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, arise! You have slumbered enough!"

They will reply and say, "Who is this who removes the dust from above us?"

And he will say to them, "I am the Lord's Messiah. Deliverance has come! The time has come!"

And they will reply, "If that is really so, go and announce the good news to Adam, the first man, so that he may rise first."

3. At that time they will say to Adam, the first man, "You have slept enough!"

And he will reply, "Who is this who chases sleep from my eyes?"

He will reply, "I am the Lord's Messiah, one of your descendants."

4. Thereupon Adam, the first man, will stand up, and all his generation, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the righteous, and all the tribes,²⁰ and all the

¹⁹ See SongR. to 7:10 for the legend concerning the sleepers of Makhpelah.

generations from one end of the earth to the other. And they will utter the sound of joy and song, as it is said, *How lovely upon the mountains are the feet of the Announcer-of-Good-News* [Isa 52:7]. And why [does it say] *upon the mountains*? Only [to signify], *How lovely* are Moses and his generation coming from the desert.

5. Or another interpretation of *How lovely upon the mountains*: It is like a king who had two sons and one of them died. And all the people of the province dressed in black. The king said, "You dressed in black when my first son died; I will clothe you in white at my second son's rejoicing."²¹ 6. Likewise, the Holy One, blessed be he, will say to the mountains, "Because you wept over my sons²² at the time they were exiled from their land, as it is said, *Upon the mountains I will take up weeping and wailing* [Jer 9:9 (10)], so I will bring the rejoicing of my sons upon the mountains, as it is said, *How lovely upon the mountains*" [Isa 52:7]. 7. King Messiah is lovely proclaiming victory to Israel, and the mountains will frolic like calves before him and the trees of the field will applaud together²³ at the deliverance of Israel, as it is said, *You shall go out in joy and in peace*, etc. [Isa 55:12].

8. How lovely [will be] the mountains of Israel, flowing with milk and honey like cascading streams of water, and also rivers of wine, as it is said, *And it will be in that day that the mountains will drip new wine* [Joel 4:18 (3:18)]. And a fountain shall go forth from the house of the Lord and water the valley of Shittim. 9. And what is the fountain like when it goes forth from the house of the Holy of Holies to the threshold of the Temple. At first it is like a thread of the warp. As far as the Temple it is like a thread of the woof. As far as the court it is like a ram's horn.²⁴ As far as the altar it is like the horns of locusts.²⁵ As far as the Temple enclosure it is like a small flask, as it is said, *Behold, waters flowing!* [Ezk 47:2]. And from there they descend like a cascading stream and they purify from wrongdoing, uncleanness, and sin.

²⁰ This probably denotes the tribes of Israel, rather than the tribes of all the earth. שבטים usually refers in the Bible to the tribes of Israel, and 'the tribes of all the earth' are probably represented by the following phrase, *all the generations from one end of the earth to the other*.

²¹ That is, probably, *wedding day*.

²² Or *son*. And similarly later in the sentence.

²³ The text, כף אל כף, differs quite markedly from Isa 55:12, וכל-עצי השדה יהיו מבין כף אל כף, to which it apparently refers.

²⁴ Literally, *it is like to horns and to rams* לקרנים וליובלאי. The phrase may indicate, as does the latter word alone, the ram's horn *shofar* of the Jubilee [Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 567]. The point seems to be that it will be narrow at one end and wider at the other.

²⁵ קרני חגבים, that is locusts' antennae. This seems unusual, as it would suggest diminution from the previous *ram's horn*. The point may be that the stream's rate of expansion will decrease, just as locusts' antennae taper less rapidly than ram's horns.

Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai.

This is the third and final section of *Sefer Eliyahu u-Pirqê Mashiah we-Nistarot Rav Shimon ben Yohai*, details of which are given in the introduction to the preceding translation of *Pirqê Mashiah*. The text of this midrash appears in Jellinek (*BHM* III:78-82). It dates from some time well into the Islamic period. Jellinek reckons that the war between the sons of the East and the sons of the West (49) may be a reference to the early Crusades. If so, the final form of the work dates from the end of the first millennium.

אלו הן הנסתרות שנגלו לר' שמעון בן יוחי כשהיה חבוי במערה מפני קיסר מלך אדום ועמד בתפלה ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה והתחיל כך ה' אלהים עד מתי עשנת בתפלת עבדך. 2 מיד נגלו אליו סתרי הקץ וסתומות והתחיל לישב ולדרוש וירא את הקני. 3 כיון שראה מלכות ישמעאל שהיה בא התחיל לומר לא דיינו מה שעשה לנו מלכות אדום הרשעה אלא אף מלכות ישמעאל. 4 מיד ענה לו מטטרון שר הפנים ואמר לו אל תירא בן אדם שאין הב"ה מביא מלכות ישמעאל אלא כדי להושיעכם מזאת הרשעה והוא מעמיד עליהם נביא כרצונו ויכבוש להם את הארץ ובאי' הם ויחזירוה בגדולה ואימה גדולה תהיה ביניהם ובן בני עשו. 5 ענה לו רבי שמעון ואמר ומניין שהם ישועה לנו אמר לו ולא כך ישעיה הנביא אמר וראה רכב צמד פרשים וגו' מפני מה הוא מקדים רכב חמור רכב גמל לא היה צריך לומר אלא רכב גמל רכב חמור אלא כיון שהוא יוצא הוא רוכב על גמל צמחה מלכות בידו רוכב על חמור. 6 ד"א רכב חמור כיון שהוא רוכב על חמור מיכן שהם תשועה לישראל כתשועת רוכב על חמור. 7 ועוד היה רבי שמעון אומר ששמע מרבי ישמעאל כיון ששמע שמלכות ישמעאל בא עתידין למוד הארץ בחבלים שנאמר והארץ יחלק במחיר. 8 ועושים בתי קברות מרעה לצאן וכשימות אדם מהם קוברים אותו בכל מקום שהם מוצאים וחוזרין וחורשין הקבר וזורעים אותו שנאמר ככה יאכלו בני ישראל את לחמם טמא. 9 מפני מה שאין בית הפרס נידש. 10 עוד וירא את הקיני וכי מה משל נשא אותו רשע אלא כיון שראה את בני בניו שהם עתידים לעמוד ולשעבד את ישראל התחיל שמח ואמר איתן מושבך רואה אני בני אדם שאינם אוכלים אלא ממצוות איתן האזרחי:

11 המלך השני שיעמוד מישמעאל יהיה אוהב ישראל ויגדור פרצותיהם ופרצו' ההיכל וחוצב הר המוריה ועושה אותו מישור כולו ובונה לו שם השתחוויה על אבן שתיה שנאמר ושים בסלע קנך ועושה מלחמה עם בני עשו והורג חיילותיו וישבה שביה גדולה מהם וימות בשלום ובכבוד גדול.

12 ויעמוד מלך גדול מחצר מות ויעשה ימים מעטים ויעמדו עליו גיבורי בני קדר ויהרגוהו ויעמידו מלך אחר ושמו מריאו ויקחוהו מאחרי הצאן והאתונות ויעלוהו למלוכה ויעמדו ממנו זרועות ארבע ויגדרו בהיכל. 13 ולקץ מלכות ארבע זרועות יעמוד מלך אחר וימעט האיפות והמדות והמשקלות ויעשה שלש שנים בשלוח ויהיה קטטה בעולם בימיו וישלח חיילים גדולים על אדומים ושם ימות ברעב ויהיה עמהם מזון הרבה והוא מונע מהם אין נותן להם ויעמדו בני אדום על בני ישמעאל ויהרגו אותם ויעמדו בני ישמעאל וישרפו המזון והנשארים יברחו ויצאו. 14 ואחר כך יעמוד מלך הגדול וימלוך י"ט שנים. 15 ואלו הם אותותיו אדמדם שיפן העין ויש לו שלש שומות אחת במצחו ואחת בידו הימנית ואחת בזרועו השמאלית. 16 ונוטע נטיעות ויבנה ערים חרבות ויבקע התהומות להעלות המים להשקות נטיעותיו ובני בניו מרובין לאכול וכל מי שיעמוד עליו ינתן בידו והארץ שוקטת בימיו וימות בשלום. 17 ויעמוד מלך אחר ויבקש לכרות מימי הירדן ויביא רחוקים מארצות נכריות לחפור ולעשות נחל ולעלות מי הירדן להשקות הארץ ותפול עליהם חפירת הארץ ויהרגם וישמעו נשיאיהם ויעמדו על המלך ויהרגוהו. 18 ויעמוד מלך אחר בגבורה ואיש מלחמה וקטטה בעולם בימיו וזה לך האות כשאתה רואה שנפל גירון המערבי שבמערב השתחויה של בני ישמעאל בדמשק נפלה מלכותו ונכנסין ויוצאין במס ואף מלכות ישמעאל תיפול ועליהם הוא אומר שבר ה' מטה רשעים. 19 ואי זה זה מרואן שער. 20 אצלו היו גבורי בני קדר קיימים ותפשע עליו פינת מזרחים צפונית ויעלו עליו ויפלו ממנו ג' חיילים גדולים בחידקל ובפרס והוא בורח מפניהם ונלכד ונהרג ובניו יתלו על העץ. 21 ואח"כ יעמוד מלך עז פנים שלשה חדשים ואחר כן תמלוך מלכות הרשעה על ישראל תשעה חדשים שנאמר לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה. 22 ויצמח להם משיח בן יוסף ויעלה אותם לירושלם ויבנה בית המקדש ויקריב קרבנות ותרד אש מן השמים ותאכל קרבנותיהם שנאמר ובני פריצי עמך ינשאו. 23 אם לו זכו משיח בן אפרים בא ואם זכו יבוא משיח בן דוד ויעמוד מלך רשע ושמו ארמילאוס הוא קרח ועיניו קטנות וצרעת במצחו ואזנו ימנית סתומה השמאלית פתוחה. 24 ואם ידבר לו אדם טובה יטה לו אזני סתומה אם ידבר לו אדם רעה מטה לו אזני פתוחה. 25 והוא בריה דסטנא ודאבנא ועולה לירושלם ויעורר מלחמה עם משיח בן אפרים בשער מזרחי שנאמר והביטו אליו את אשר דקרו וישראל גולין למדברי אגמים לרעות במלוחים ובשרשי רתמים מ"ה ימים ואז נבחנים ונצרפים שנאמר והבאתי את השלישית באש וגומר. 26 וימות שם משיח בן אפרים וישראל סופדים אותו ואחר כך יגלה להם הקב"ה משיח בן דוד וישראל ירצו לסוקלו ואומר לו שקר דברת שכבר נהרג משיח ואין משיח אחר עתיד לעמוד ויבזוהו שנאמר נבזה וחדל אישים והוא חוזר לו ונכסה מהן שנאמר וכמסתר פנים ממנו. 27 ובהצר להם

לישראל הם חוזרים וצועקים מרעב ומצמא ומיד הקב"ה נגלה להם בכבודו שנאמר וראו כל בשר יחדו. 28 ומלך המשיח יצמח שם שנאמר וארו עם ענני שמיא וכתוב בתריה וליה יהיב שלטון. 29 ויפיח באותו ארמילוס הרשע וימיתוהו שנאמר וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע. 30 והקב"ה שורק ומקבץ כל ישראל ומעלים לירושלים שנאמר אשרקה להם ואקבצם ותרד אש מן השמים ותאכל ירושלם עד ג' אמות ומפנה הזרים הערלים והטמאים מתוכה ותרד ירושלם בנויה ומשוכללת מן השמים שיש בה שבעים ושנים מרגליות שמבהיקות מסוף העולם ועד סופו. 31 והולכים כל האומות לנוגה שנאמר והלכו גוים לאורך. 32 וירד היכל בנוי מן השמים שהוא קשור בזבול שכן ראה משה ע"ה ברוח הקודש שנאמר תביאמו ותטעמו. 33 ויושבין ישראל לבטח אלפים שנה ואוכלים בהמות ולויתן וזיו בהמות שוחטין וזיו קורע לויתן בקרסוליו ומשה יבא וישחוט זיו שדי. 34 ולקץ אלפים שנה הקב"ה יושב על כסא דין בעמק יהושפט. 35 ומיד השמים והארץ בלין והולכים ובלים והחמה חפרה והלבנה בושה וההרים ימוטו והגבעות תמוטנה כדי שלא יזכירו לישראל עונותיהם ושערי גהינם נפתחות בנחל יהושע ושערי גן עדן במזרח ביום השלישי שנאמר יחיינו מיומים אלו ימי משיח שהם אלפים שנה. 36 וביום הג' זה יום הדין ואוי לו לכל מי שמת בו והקב"ה מעביר לפניו כל אומה ואומר להם אתם שמשותחים לאלהי כסף וזהב ראו אם יוכלו להציל אתכם. 37 ומיד עוברים ונשרפים שנאמר ישובו רשעים לשאולה וישראל באים אחריהם והקב"ה אומר להם למי אתם משותחים והם אומרים כי אתה אבינו כי אברהם לא ידענו וכו'. 38 ואומות העולם אומרים מתוך גהינם נראה אם ישפוט את ישראל עמו כמו ששפט אותנו. 39 מיד הקב"ה עובר עם ישראל באמצע גהינם ונעשה לפניהם כמים קרים שנאמר ויעבור מלכם לפניהם ואומר כי תלך במו אש לו תכוה. 40 ובאותה שעה ננערין פושעי ישראל לגהינם י"ב חדשים ואח"כ הקב"ה מעלה אותם ויושבים בגן עדן ומתענגים מפירותיה שנאמר ועמך כלם צדיקים. 41 רבי שמעון אומר עתיד הקב"ה לשרוק לדבורה אשר בקצה יאורי מצרים ובאים ועושי' מלחמה בתוך מצרים. 42 והמלך הראשון שמנהיג אותם ומוציאם הוא עבד שמרד על אדונו שנאמר כה אמר ה' לבזה נפש למתעב גוי אותה מתועבת שבאומות אלו בני כנען לעבד מושלים והוא מורד על אדונו ומתקבצים אליו אנשים שמרדו על אדוניהם ויוצאים במעט ומחזיקים מלכות בגבורה ועושים מלחמה עם בני ישמעאל והורגים גבוריהם ויורשים ממונם ואת רכושם. 43 והם אנשים מכווערים ולובשים שחורים ויוצאים ממזרח והם מהרים ונמהרים שנ' הגוי המר והנמהר. 44 ועל הר מרום ישראל יעלו ויסבר לפרוץ בהיכל ודלתים יעקירו ומרות יבכו. 45 וארבעה מלכים יעמדו עליהם שנים נשיאים ושנים סגנים. 46 הראשון איש קונדק וממליך מלך בחייו מזרע המלוכה והמלך שימלוך עליהם הולך בשפלות ועיניו יפות ושערו נאה וימות

בשלום ואין נפרעין ממנו בזה העולם. 47 ואחריו יעמוד מלך במחלוקת ויעמוד חיילים על נהר פרת ויפלו כלם ביום אחד ויברח ויאסר וכל הימים שהוא נאסר יהיה שלום בארץ ואחיו מושלים בכל הארצות. 48 והמלך הרביעי שיעמוד עליהם אוהב כסף וזהב והוא איש שחור וגבה קומה זקן וגרגר והורג אותן שהוציאוהו והמליכוהו ויעשה ספינות מנחשת וימלא אותם כסף וזהב וטומן אותם תחת מימי פרת להצניעם לבניו והם עתידים לישראל שנאמר ונתתי לך אוצרות חשך ומטמוני מסתרים. 49 ובימיו תפשע קרן מערבית וישלח שם גייסו רבים והורג בני מזרח וחוזר ומשלח גייסות רבות ובאים והורגים את בני מערב ויושבים בארצם. 50 וזה לך האות שאתה רואה שבוע אחד תחלתו מטר. 51 ובשניה חיצו רעב משתלחין. 52 ובשלישית רעב גדול. 53 וברביעית לא רעב ולא שובע. 54 ובחמישית שובע גדול ויצמח כוכב אחד ממזרח ובראשו שבט והוא כוכב של ישראל שנאמר דרך כוכב מיעקב. 55 ואם האיר לטובתן של ישראל הוא ואז יצמח משיח בן דוד. 56 וזה לך האות כשאתה רואה שנפל נירון מזרחי שבדמשק נפלה מלכות בני מזרח ואז יצמח הישועה לישראל ומשיח בן דוד בא ויעלו לירושלם ויתענגו עליה שנאמר וענוים ירשו ארץ ויתענגו על רב שלום. 57 האל ברחמיו ישלח לנו הגואל במהרה בימינו אמן:

The Mysteries of Rav Shimon ben Yohai.

1. These are the mysteries which were revealed to Rav Shimon ben Yohai, when he was forced to hide in a cave from fear of Caesar, King of Edom. And he stood in prayer forty days and forty nights and finally he began thus: "*Lord God, how long will you smoke against the prayer of your servant?*" [Ps 80:5(4)]. 2. Thereupon secrets of the end and mysteries were revealed to him, and he began to sit and study. *And he saw the Kenite* (Num 24:21). 3. As soon as he saw the kingdom of Ishmael, which was coming, he began to say, "What the evil kingdom of Edom did to us, was it not enough for us? And [must we endure] the kingdom of Ishmael also?"

4. Thereupon Metatron, the Prince of the Presence, answered and said to him, "Do not fear, son of man. The Lord, blessed be he, brings the kingdom of Ishmael only to deliver you from this evil. He appoints over them a prophet, according to his pleasure, and with them he will trample the land. And they come to restore it in great measure, and great fear will be between them and the sons of Esau.

5. And Rabbi Shimon answered him and said, "And how will they be our salvation?"

And he said to him, "And did not Isaiah the prophet speak thus: *And when he sees riders, horsemen in pairs*, etc. [Isa 21:7]. Why does *A rider on an ass* precede *a rider on a camel* [Isa 21:7]? He should not have said that, but rather, 'A rider on a camel, a rider on an ass.' For when he comes he rides on a camel, and when his kingdom has flourished by his hand he rides on an ass."

6. Another interpretation [of] *a rider on an ass* [is that] since he rides on an ass, we learn from this that they will provide deliverance for Israel like the deliverance of a rider on an ass.¹ 7. And again, Rabbi Shimon used to say that he heard from Rabbi Ishmael, as soon as he heard that the kingdom of Ishmael was coming, [that] the time will come when the land will be divided in lots, as it is said, *and he will distribute the land for a price* [Dan 11:39].² 8. They will make cemeteries into pastures for flocks, and when one of their people dies they will bury him in any place that they find and then return and then plough over the grave again and sow it, as it is said, *Thus the sons of Israel will eat unclean bread* [Ezk 4:13]. 9. For this reason no *Bet ha-P'ras*³ will be observed. 10. A further interpretation [of] *And he saw the Kenite* (Num 24:21). For what reason did that wicked man [Balaam] deliver his oracle? Only because he saw that his grandchildren would arise and subjugate Israel did he begin rejoicing and said, "*Enduring* [ethan] *is your seat!*" [Num 24:21]. I see sons of men, who eat only according to the commandments of Ethan the Ezrahite."⁴

11. The second king who will arise from Ishmael will be favourable to Israel and will repair their breaches and the breaches in the Temple, and shape Mount Moriah and make it completely level, and build a mosque there upon the foundation stone, as it is said, *Your nest is set on the rock* [Num 24:21]. He will make war with the sons of Esau and destroy their⁵ forces and take a great number of them captive. And he will die in peace and in great honour. 12. And a great king will arise from Hazarmaveth,⁶ and he will rule a few days. And the warriors of the sons of Kedar will rise against him and kill him, and set up another king, whose name is Mario. They will take him from

¹ That is, probably, like a messianic deliverance (cf. Zech 9:9).

² The text has נִדְמָה instead of Dan 11:39's נִדְמָה.

³ A field of half a furrow's length square, declared unclean on account of bones carried into it from a ploughed grave.

⁴ Possibly indicating Abraham, who is sometimes identified with Ethan the Ezrahite in rabbinic tradition (bBB 15a; PdRK 4.3; PR 6.5. The same idea is alluded to at bRH 11a, which has the patriarchs born in the month Ethanim; and MidTeh 1.6, where the list of ten psalm writers includes Abraham but not Ethan).

⁵ Literally, *his*, referring presumably to Esau as representative head of his descendants.

⁶ A Semitic clan, according to Gen 10:26.

following the flock and the she-asses and raise him to kingship. From him four powers will arise and they will wall off the Temple. After the reign of the four powers will arise another king, and he will reduce the *ephah* and the measures of length and weight. He will rule securely for three years but there will be discord in the world in his days. He will send great forces against the Edomites but he will die there of hunger. There will be plenty of provisions with them, but he will withhold them from them, giving them nothing. And the sons of Esau will arise against the sons of Ishmael and kill them. The sons of Ishmael will arise and burn the provisions and the survivors will flee and go away. 14. Thereafter a great king will arise and he will rule for nine years. 15. These are his reddish marks which will turn every eye: he has three blemishes, one on his forehead, one on his right hand, and one on his left arm. 16. He will plant saplings and build many cities. He will split open the deeps to bring up water to water his saplings so that his numerous great-grandchildren may eat. All who rise against him will be given into his hand. The land will be at rest in his days and he will die in peace. 17. Another king will arise and he will seek to dig the waters of the Jordan. He will bring aliens from foreign lands in order to dig and make a canal to raise the Jordan's waters to irrigate the land. But the earthworks will fall on them and kill them, and their princes will hear of this and rise against the king and kill him. 18. Another king will arise by force, a man of war, and [there will be] discord in the world in his days. And this will be the sign for you. When you see that Giron the western, which is in the west, has fallen, the mosque of the sons of Ishmael in Damascus, then his kingdom has fallen, and they will only [be able to] come and go by payment of tribute [to their conquerors]. And so the kingdom of Ishmael will fall. Regarding them it says, *The Lord has broken the sceptre of the wicked* [Isa 14:5]. 19. And who carries out this tyranny of theirs? 20. Beside him are vigorous warriors of the sons of Kedar. But the north-eastern corner [of his kingdom] will rebel against him, and they will go up against him. Three great legions of them will fall at the River Tigris and in Persia. He will flee before them, but will be caught and killed and his sons will be hanged on the tree. 21. After this a brazen-faced king will arise for three months. Thereafter the evil kingdom will rule over Israel nine months, as it is said, *Therefore he will give them over until the time when she who is in travail gives birth* [Mic 5:2(3)]. 22. Messiah ben Joseph will spring forth for them and he will take them up to Jerusalem. He will build the Temple and offer sacrifices, and fire will come down from heaven and consume their sacrifices, as it is said, *The forceful men of your people will lift themselves up* [Dan 11:4]. 23. If they are not pure, Messiah ben Ephraim⁷ will come;

⁷ That is, Messiah ben Joseph.

and if they are pure, Messiah ben David will come.⁸ An evil king will arise and his name is Armilus. He is bald, his eyes are small, and he has leprosy on his forehead. His right ear is closed over and the left is open. 24. If anyone speaks to him of virtue, he will incline to him the closed ear; and if anyone speaks to him of evil, he inclines to him the open ear. 25. He is the offspring of Satan and the stone.⁹ He will ascend to Jerusalem and join battle with Messiah ben Ephraim at the East Gate, as it is said, *And they will look upon him whom they have pierced* [Zech 12:10]. Israel will be exiled to the barren wilderness to feed on sea-purslane and roots of broom for forty-five days. At that time they are tested and refined, as it is said, *And I will bring this third through the fire*, etc. [Zech 13:9]. 26. And Messiah ben Ephraim will die there and Israel will mourn him.¹⁰ Afterwards the Holy One, blessed be he, will reveal to them Messiah ben David. Israel will want to stone him, saying, "You have lied!"¹¹ For the Messiah has already been killed and no other messiah is destined to arise." And they will despise him, as it is said, *He was despised and rejected by men* [Isa 53:3]. He will withdraw and be hidden from them, as it is said, *Like one from whom men hide their faces* [Isa 53:3]. 27. In their distress Israel repent and cry out from hunger and thirst. Thereupon the Holy One, blessed be he, appears to them in his glory, as it is said, *And all flesh together will see* [Isa 40:5]. 28. The King Messiah will spring up there, as it is said, *And behold, with the clouds of heaven* [Dan 7:13]. And it is written afterwards, *And he was given dominion* [Dan 7:14]. 29. And he will blow on that evil Armilus and will kill him, as it is said, *With the breath of his lips he will slay the wicked* [Isa 11:4]. 30. And the Holy One, blessed be he, whistles and gathers all Israel, and he will take them up, as it is said, *I will whistle for them and gather them in* [Zech 10:8]. Fire will come down from heaven and consume Jerusalem to a depth of three cubits, removing uncircumcised foreigners and the impure from the midst of her. Jerusalem will descend, built-up and shining, from the heavens. In her are seventy-two pearls, whose glistening [is seen] from one end of the world to the other.¹² 31. All the nations come to her radiance, as it is said, *Nations will come to your light* [Isa 60:3]. 32. And

⁸ The idea that Messiah ben Joseph comes only if Israel are impure occurs also in bSanh 98a, yTaan 1:1 (63d), and Saadya, *Kitab*, VIII:2,5,6.

⁹ For the idea of Armilus as the offspring of Satan and a statue, see also SefZ 40 and Otot 7:2,3.

¹⁰ As in other midrashim, the place of Messiah ben Ephraim's slaying would seem to be Jerusalem, for it is there that he is pierced (25). We would therefore suggest that the beginning of 26 is a recapitulation following an aside about the fate of Israel subsequent to his death. However it might conceivably be taken as meaning that Messiah dies in the wilderness although he receives his death-wound at Jerusalem.

¹¹ Presumably in claiming to be Messiah.

¹² A heavenly Jerusalem which would be revealed in the last times was a common conception in earlier Israelite literature: Gal 4:26; Rev 3:12; 21:2,10; 2ApocBar 4:2-6; 4 Ezra 7:26; 8:52; 10:27-50; 13:36. Something similar is implied at a yet earlier date in 1En 90:28-29.

the Temple, which is prepared in the fourth heaven, which Moses, peace upon him, saw in the Holy Spirit,¹³ will descend, built-up, from the heavens, as it is said, *You will bring them and plant them [on the mountain of your inheritance (Ex 15:7)]*. 33. Israel will live in security 2000 years and eat Behemoth, Leviathan, and Ziz. They slaughter Behemoth, and then Ziz tears Leviathan to pieces with his claws, and Moses will come and slaughter *Ziz of the fields* [Ps 50:11; 80:14(13)]. 34. At the end of 2000 years, the Holy One, blessed be he, sits on his judgment throne in the valley of Jehoshaphat. 35. Thereupon the heavens and earth gradually wear away, and the sun is abashed and the moon ashamed, and the mountains will be removed so that they do not remind Israel of their sins. On the third day the gates of Gehenna open in the Valley of Joshua and the gates of the Garden of Eden in the East, as it is said, *After two days he will make us live* [Hos 6:2]: these are the days of the Messiah which are 2,000 years.¹⁴ 36. *On the third day* [Hos 6:2]: this is the day of judgment. Woe to all who die on that day! The Holy One, blessed be he, makes every nation pass before him and says to them, "You who worship gods of silver and gold, see if they can save you." 37. Thereupon they go away and are burned, as it is said, *The wicked depart to Sheol* [Ps 9:18(17)]. Israel comes after them, and the Holy One, blessed be he, says to them, "Whom do you worship?"

They say, "*Surely you, our Father, though Abraham does not know us,*" etc. [Isa 63:16].

38. The nations of the world say from the midst of Gehenna, "Let us see if he will judge his people as he judged us."

39. Thereupon the Holy One, blessed be he, passes through the middle of Gehenna with Israel and it becomes like cool waters before them, as it is said, *Their king will pass through before them* [Mic 2:13]. And he says,¹⁵ "*When you walk through the fire you will not be burned*" [Isa 43:2]. 40. At that time the apostates of Israel are poured into Gehenna for twelve months and afterwards the Holy One, blessed be he, brings them up, and they live in the Garden of Eden, luxuriating in its fruits, as it is said, *And all your people shall be righteous* [Isa 60:21].

41. Rabbi Shimon says: In future the Holy One, blessed be he, will whistle for bees which are in the distant streams of Egypt and they will come and make war in the midst

¹³ For the idea that there are a heavenly Jerusalem, Temple, and altar in *Zebul*, the fourth heaven, see also Hag 12b. Moses is said to have seen heavenly antitypes of cultic items at Ex 25:9,40; 2ApocBar 4:5.

¹⁴ For the idea that the messianic period will be the last two millennia (days) of the six millennia of this age and be followed by the Day of Judgment and the Sabbath millennium, see AZ 9a; Sanh 97a; Ep. Barn 15.

¹⁵ Or, *And it says*.

of Egypt. 42. The first king, who will lead them and bring them out, he is a servant who rebelled against his master, as it is said, *Thus says the Lord . . . to the one despised and abominated by the nations* (the one abominated among the nations, these are the sons of Canaan), *the servant of rulers* [Isa 49:7]. He will rebel against his master, and men will gather to him who have rebelled against their masters, and they will go forth few in number and seize kingship by force. They will make war with the sons of Ishmael and kill their warriors and take possession of their money and their possessions. 43. They will be ugly men, dressing in black, and they will come out of the East and they will be swift and hasty, as it is said, *the bitter and hasty nation* [Hab 1:6]. 44. They will ascend onto the mountain height of Israel and he will decide to break into the Temple. They will tear loose its doors and Moriah will mourn.¹⁶ 45. Four kings will arise against them. Two are princes and two are chiefs. 46. The first will be an Indian.¹⁷ He will set up in his lifetime a king from the royal line. The [second] king who will rule over them walks in humility, his eyes are beautiful and his hair becoming, and he will die in peace and no-one will call him to account in this world.¹⁸ 47. After him a [third] king will arise amidst contention and he will station forces at the River Euphrates, but all of them will fall in one day. He will flee, but he will be captured, and there will be peace in the land all the days that he is in captivity. And his brothers will rule in all the lands. 48. The fourth king who will arise against them loves silver and gold. He will be a swarthy man and very tall, an old man and a glutton, and he will kill those who brought him out and made him king. He will make ships of bronze and fill them with silver and gold and hide them beneath the waters of the Euphrates to reserve them for his sons, but they are destined for Israel, as it is said, *I will give you the treasures of darkness and the hoards in secret places* [Isa 45:3]. 49. In his day the western power will rebel and he will send many warriors there. He will kill the sons of the East and again send out many warriors and they will go and kill the sons of the West and settle in their land. 50. This will be a sign for you. When you see one week¹⁹ it begins with rain. 51. In the second [week] half-famine is decreed. 52. In the third, great famine. 53. In the fourth, neither famine nor plenty. 54. In the fifth, great plenty. A single star springs forth from the East and at its head is a sceptre. It is the star of Messiah, as it is said, *A star goes forth from Jacob* [Num 24:17]. 55. When it shines for Israel's prosperity then Messiah ben David will spring forth

¹⁶ Jastrow [Dictionary, 840] notes the use of the word מְרוֹת *authority, dominion*, and its Chaldean equivalent מְרוּתָא, as a wordplay for Moriah (cf. eg. PR s.40; GenR s.55).

¹⁷ I am assuming that the term קַנְדִּיק is a variant of הַנְּדִיקָא, *Indian*, as at 2 Tg.Esth. 1.14, where some editions read קַנְדִּיקִי and others הַנְּדִיקִי.

¹⁸ Or, *and no-one will exact tribute from him*.

¹⁹ That is, one septennate.

[after it]. 56. And this will be a sign for you. When you see that eastern Niron, which is in Damascus, has fallen, then the kingship of the sons of the east has fallen. Then the salvation of Israel will spring forth. Messiah ben David comes and they will ascend to Jerusalem and delight themselves over her, as it is said, *But the meek shall inherit the land and delight themselves in abundant peace* [Ps 37:1]. 57. O that God in his mercies might send us the redeemer quickly in our days. Amen.

Appendix II. Texts Referring to Ingathering.

Below are cited the principal biblical texts referring to the ingathering movements of the eschatological programme. They are given principally to support the discussion in chapter VI regarding the verbal roots which predominate in each stage of ingathering. They are arranged into three groups: first, the ingathering of Israel; second, the ingathering of the hostile nations to battle, and third, the ingathering of the earth to worship. Some texts might be included in more than one group, as they seem to encompass more than one stage of ingathering. This may be because the particular writer was not aware of a full programme, or disagreed with parts of it, or simply overlooked them, in bringing other stages together. Such texts can only be placed where they seem most naturally to belong. This does not invalidate the present objective, which is simply to note the general verbal tendencies of these texts.

Following the biblical texts, passages from apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature are cited. These show the predominance of *συναγω* in all references to the pre-deliverance stages of ingathering, as noted in chapter VI.

1. The Ingathering of Israel.

Dt. 30:3-4. Yhwh your God will restore your fortunes (שוב שבות) . . . and will gather you (קבץ) from all peoples where Yhwh your God has scattered you. If your outcasts are in the uttermost parts of heaven, from there Yhwh your God will gather (קבץ) you.

Isa 11:12. He will raise a sign for the nations, and will assemble (אסף) the outcasts of Israel from the ends of the earth, and the dispersed of Judah will he gather (קבץ) from the four corners of heaven.

Isa 40:11. He will shepherd his flock like a shepherd, he will gather (קבץ) the lambs in his arms.¹

Isa 49:5. Yhwh . . . formed me . . . to bring Jacob back (השיב) to him, and that Israel might be gathered (אסף) to him.

Isa 49:17,18. Your sons hasten back . . . Lift your eyes and look around! All of them gather (קבץ) and come to you.

Isa 52:11-12. Depart, depart, go out from there . . . Yhwh will go before you, the God of Israel will be your ingathering (אסף).

Isa 54:7. For a brief moment I forsook you, but with great mercies I will gather (קבץ) you.

Isa 56:8. Lord Yhwh says, the gatherer (קבץ) of the outcasts of Israel, . . .

Isa 58:8. The glory of Yhwh will ingather (אסף) you.

Jer 4:5. Sound the trumpet throughout the land! Cry aloud and say, 'Gather together (אסף)! Let us flee to the fortified cities!'

¹ Given the deutero-Isaianic context of return from exile in Babylon, it is probably not too far-fetched to see some allusion to the gathering of the nation in this verse.

Jer 23:3. Then I will gather (קבץ) the remnant of my flock out of all the countries where I have driven them, and I will bring them back (השיב) to their fold.

Jer 29:14. 'I will gather (קבץ) you from all the nations and places where I banished you,' declares Yhwh, 'and will bring you back to the place from which I exiled you.'

Jer 31:8. See, I will bring them from the north land and gather (קבץ) them from the ends of the earth (v.8).

Jer 31:10. He who scattered Israel will gather (קבץ) him, and keep him as a shepherd keeps his flock.

Jer 32:37. I will surely gather them (קבץ) from all the lands where I banish them.

Ezk 11:17. Therefore say, 'Thus says Lord Yhwh: "I will gather (קבץ) you from the peoples and assemble (אסף) you out of the countries where you have been scattered."'

Ezk 20:34-36. And I will bring you out of the peoples, and gather (קבץ) you out of the lands where you have been scattered.

Ezk 20:41. As a pleasing odour I will accept you, when I bring you out (הוציא) from the peoples and gather (קבץ) you out of the countries where you have been scattered.

Ezk 28:25. Thus says Lord Yhwh: 'When I gather (קבץ) the house of Israel from the peoples among whom they are scattered . . . then they shall dwell in their own land.

Ezk 34:12-13. I will seek out my sheep . . . and I will bring them out from the peoples, and gather (קבץ) them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land.

Ezk 37:21. I . . . will gather (קבץ) from all sides, and bring them to their own land.

Ezk 38:12. . . . the people who were gathered (אסף) from the nations.

Ezk 39:27. . . . when I have brought them back (שבב) from the peoples and gathered (קבץ) them from their enemies' lands.

Hos 2:2 [1:11]. And the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel will be gathered (קבץ) as one, and they will appoint one leader, and go up (עלו) from the earth.

Mic 2:12. I will surely gather (אסף אאסף) all of you, Jacob. I will gather (קבץ אקבץ) the remnant of Israel; I will set them together like sheep in a fold, like a flock in its pasture.

Mic 4:6-7. I will assemble (אסף) the lame and gather (קבץ) those who have been driven away and those whom I have injured. And I will make the lame a remnant and the ones who have strayed afar a strong nation.

Zeph 3:19-20. I will rescue the lame and gather (קבץ) the outcast . . . I will bring you home at the time when I gather (קבץ) you together.

Zech 10:8-10. I will gather (קבץ) them Though I scattered them among the nations . . . I will bring them back (השיב) from the land of Egypt, and gather (קבץ) them from Assyria.

Ps 106:47. Save us, Yhwh our God, and gather (קבץ) us from among the nations.

Ps 107:2-3. Let the redeemed of Yhwh say so, whom he has . . . gathered in (קבץ) from the lands.

Neh 1:8-9. Remember the word which you commanded your servant Moses, saying, ' . . . even if your exiles are at the farthest horizon, I will gather (קבץ) them from there and bring them to the place which I have chosen.'

Other texts referring to the ingathering of Israel without employing the verbs אסף or קבץ are as follows.

Isa 35:10 & 51:11. The redeemed of Yhwh will return. They will enter Zion with singing, and eternal joy upon their heads. Gladness and joy will overtake them, and sorrow and sighing will flee away.

Jer 3:12,14,15. 'Return, faithless Israel,' declares Yhwh . . . 'Return, faithless people,' declares Yhwh, 'for I am your husband. I will choose you – one from a town and two from a clan – and bring you to Zion. Then I will give you shepherds after my own heart . . .'

Jer 12:14-15. I will uproot the house of Judah . . . And after I have uprooted them I will relent and have compassion on them and bring them back, each one to his inheritance and each one to his land.

Jer 16:14-15. 'Therefore the days are coming,' declares Yhwh, 'when it will no longer be said, "As Yhwh lives, who brought up the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt," but, "As Yhwh lives, who brought up (עלה) the sons of Israel from the north land and from all the lands in which he scattered them."' For I will restore them to the land I gave their fathers.

Jer 23:7-8. 'Therefore the days are coming,' declares Yhwh, 'when they will no longer say, "As Yhwh lives, who brought up the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt," but, "As Yhwh lives, who brought up (עלה) and who brought back the seed of the house of Israel from the north land and from all the lands where he scattered them."' And they will live in their own land.

Jer 24:6. . . . the exiles from Judah, whom I sent away from this place to the land of the Chaldeans . . . I will bring them back to this land.

Jer 30:3. 'The days are coming,' declares Yhwh, 'when I will restore the fortunes of my people Israel and Judah, and restore them to the land I gave their fathers to possess.'

Jer 30:10. I will surely save you out of a distant place, your descendants from the land of their exile. Jacob will again have peace and security.

Jer 31:16-17. They will return from the land of the enemy. . . . Your children will return to their own land.

Jer 31:23. Again they will say these words in the land of Judah and in its cities, when I turn back their captivity: 'Yhwh bless you, righteous pasture,² holy hill.'

Jer 33:26. I will restore their fortunes and have mercy on them.

Jer 42:12. I will show you compassion so that he will have compassion on you and restore you to your land.

Jer 50:4-7. 'In those days, at that time,' declares Yhwh, 'the people of Israel and the people of Judah together will go in tears to seek Yhwh their God. They will ask the way to Zion . . . My people have been lost sheep; their shepherds have led them astray.'

Jer 50:19. I will bring Israel back to his own pasture.

Ezk 37:12. Thus says Lord Yhwh: 'Behold, I open your graves and I will bring you up from your graves, my people, and I will bring you to the land of Israel.'

Ezk 39:25,28. I will now bring Jacob back from captivity. . . . Then they will know that I am Yhwh their God, for though I sent them into exile among the nations, I will gather (כנס) them to their own land, leaving none behind.

Hos 3:5. Afterwards the sons of Israel will return and seek Yhwh their God and David their king. They will come fearfully to Yhwh and his blessings in the last days.

Hos 11:5-11. When he roars his children will come trembling from the west. They will come trembling like birds from Egypt, like doves from Assyria. 'I will settle them in their homes,' declares Yhwh.

Am 9:14-15. I will bring back my exiled people Israel; they will rebuild the ruined cities and live in them.

Ob 20. The exiles in Halah who are of the sons of Israel shall possess Phoenicia as far as Zarephat; and the exiles of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad shall possess the cities of the Negev.³

Mic 4:10. You will go to Babylon. There you will be rescued. There Yhwh will redeem you from the hand of your foes.

Zeph 2:1. Gather yourselves and gather (קשש), shameful nation, before the appointed time arrives . . .

Zech 8:7-8. Thus says Yhwh Tsebaoth: 'I will save my people from the countries of the sunrise and the sunset. I will bring them, and they will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem.'

² See the comments in chapter VI.vi, regarding the most frequent use of נרד as meaning *pasture*.

³ See chapter VI.vi.2 for a discussion of the interpretation of this verse.

Zech 9:12. I will free your captives from the pit with no water in it. Return to your stronghold, prisoners of hope.

Ps 147:2. Yhwh builds up Jerusalem; the dispersed of Israel he gathers (כנס).

2. The Gathering of the Hostile Nations.

Isa 24:21-22. In that day Yhwh will punish the powers in the heavens above and the kings on the earth below. They will be gathered together (אספו אספיה), prisoners in a pit, and locked in confinement. And after many days they will muster an army.⁴

Jer 12:7-9. I will give the one I love into the hands of her enemies . . . Go and gather (אסף) all the wild beasts; bring them to devour.⁵

Ezk 16:37,40. I am going to gather (קביץ) all your lovers . . . I will gather (קביץ) them against you all around . . . And they will bring up (עלה) a host against you, who will stone you and hack you to pieces with their swords.

Hos 10:10. I will punish them. Nations will be gathered (אסף) against them.

Joel 4[3]:2. I will gather (קביץ) all nations and bring them down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

Joel 4[3]:11-12. Come quickly, all nations from all around, and gather (קביץ) there. Make your warriors come down, Yhwh! Let them advance into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations all around.

Mic 4:11-12. But now many nations are gathered (אסף) against you saying, 'Let her be defiled and our eyes will gloat on Zion!' But they do not know the thoughts of Yhwh; and they do not understand his council. For he gathers (קביץ) them like sheaves to the threshing floor.

Zeph 3:8. I have decided to assemble (אסף) the nations, to gather (קביץ) the kingdoms, and to pour out my wrath on them.

Zech 12:3. On that day I will make Jerusalem an immovable rock for all the peoples . . . and all the nations of the earth will be gathered (אסף) against her.

Zech 14:2. I will gather (אסף) all the nations of the earth to fight against Jerusalem.

3. The Gathering to Worship on Zion.

Some texts from section one above, which refer simply to the ingathering of Israel, might be added to this section. It is not always clear whether a particular reference is to a pre- or post-conflict ingathering. Some writers may not have known of a tradition about a conflict at the time of ingathering. However some, particularly those of the Isaianic tradition, do appear to have considered that further Israelites were to gather along with the visiting foreign nations after a time of conflict (*Isa 66:20*).

⁴ The meaning *to muster an army* is attested for פקד (BDB, 823). For a discussion of interpretation of biblical usage of this most polysemic of verbs, see Grossfeld, "The Translation of Biblical Hebrew פקד," 83-101. He concludes that its basic range of meanings, from which the others derive, is 'to take note of, to notice, to consider, to attend to with care' [92].

⁵ We assume here that *wild beasts* is a metaphor for the ravaging nations. This is supported not only by v.7, cited above, but also by the animal terms, *lion, bird of prey*, describing Israel at 12:8-9.

Isa 2:2-4. In the latter days, the mountain of the house of Yhwh will be established as the chief mountain; it will be raised above the hills, and all the nations will stream to it. Many peoples will come and say, 'Come, let us go up (עלה) the mountain of Yhwh.'

Isa 27:12,13. In that day Yhwh will thresh from the grain/flood (שבילת) of Euphrates to the Wadi of Egypt, and you will be gathered (לקט) one by one, sons of Israel. And in that day will sound a great *shofar*, and those perishing in the land of Assyria will come, and those banished in the land of Egypt, and they will worship Yhwh on the holy mountain in Jerusalem.

Isa 43:9. All the nations gather (קבץ) together and the peoples assemble (אסף).

Isa 49:17,18. Your sons hasten back, your destroyers and desolators depart from you. Lift your eyes and look around! All of them gather (קבץ) and come to you.

Isa 56:6-8. And foreigners who bind themselves to Yhwh . . . these I will bring to my holy mountain . . . for my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations. Lord Yhwh declares, . . . 'I will gather (קבץ) yet others to them, besides the already gathered (קבץ).'

Isa 60:3-4. Nations will come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising. Lift your eyes and look around! All of them gather (קבץ) and come to you; your sons come from afar, and your daughters are carried on the arm.

Isa 66:18,21, 23. 'And I, because of their deeds and their plans, am coming to gather (קבץ) all nations and tongues, and they will come and see my glory.' . . . 'And I will select some of them to be priests and Levites,' says Yhwh.⁶ . . . 'From one New Moon to another and from one Sabbath to another, all mankind will come and bow down before me,' says Yhwh.

Jer 3:17. At that time they will call Jerusalem 'The Throne of Yhwh,' all nations will gather (קבץ) to her, to the name of Yhwh in Jerusalem.

Mic 4:1-2. In the latter days, the mountain of the house of Yhwh will be established as the chief mountain; it will be raised above the hills, and peoples will stream to it. Many nations will come and say, 'Come, let us go up (עלה) the mountain of Yhwh.'

Zeph 3:8-10. Then will I purify the lips of the peoples, that all of them may call on the name of Yhwh and serve him shoulder to shoulder. From beyond the rivers of Cush my worshippers, my scattered people, will bring me offerings.

Zech 8:20-23. Thus says Yhwh Tsebaoth: There will yet come peoples and the inhabitants of many cities. And the inhabitants of one will go to another, saying, 'Let us go now to entreat the face of Yhwh and seek Yhwh Tsebaoth. I myself am going.' And many peoples will come, and powerful nations, to seek Yhwh Tsebaoth in Jerusalem and to entreat the face of Yhwh. Thus says Yhwh Tsebaoth: In those days, ten men from all languages of nations will seize, and they will seize by the hem of his robe one man of Judah, saying, 'Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.'

Zech 14:16. Then the survivors of the nations that attacked Jerusalem will go up (עלה) year after year to worship the King, Yhwh Tsebaoth, and to celebrate the Feast of Sukkoth. If any of the tribes of the earth do not go up (עלה) to Jerusalem to worship the King, Yhwh Tsebaoth, they will have no rain. If the tribe of Egypt do not go up (עלה) and enter in, then upon them shall come the plague with which Yhwh smites the nations that do not go up (עלה) to the Feast of Sukkoth. This will be the penalty for Egypt and the penalty for all the nations which do not go up (עלה) to celebrate the Feast of Sukkoth.

Ps 47:8-10 [7-9]. God has become king over the nations; God has sat down upon the throne of his holiness. The nobles of the nations assemble (אסף) as the people of the God of Abraham. For the shields of earth belong to God. He is greatly ascended.

Ps 65:3[2]. Hearer-of-prayer, to you all flesh will come.

Ps 86:9. All nations which you made will come and will bow down before you, Lord, and glorify your name.

Ps 102:22-3[21-2]. To proclaim in Zion the name of Yhwh, and his praise in Jerusalem, when peoples are gathered together (קבץ), and kingdoms, to serve Yhwh.

⁶ This takes place in the aftermath of a suppressed rebellion (66:24).

2 Chr 36:23. Thus says Cyrus, King of Persia, 'Yhwh the God of heaven has given me all the kingdoms of the earth and has appointed me to build for him a house in Jerusalem which is in Judah. Anyone of you from all his people, Yhwh his God be with him, and let him ascend (עָלָה).'

4. Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Texts.

Tob 13:5. Again he will show mercy, and will gather (συνάξει) us from all the nations among whom you (or we) have been scattered.

Tob 13:13. Rejoice and be glad for the sons of the righteous; for they will be gathered together (συναχθήσονται).

Sir 36:1,13 [NRSV; LXX: 1,10; RSV: 1,11]⁷ Have mercy upon us, O Lord . . . Gather (σύναγε) all the tribes of Jacob.

Bar 4:36-37. Look toward the east, Jerusalem, and see the joy that is coming to you from God! Behold your sons are coming, whom you sent away; they are coming gathered (συνηγμένοι) from east and west.

Bar 5:5. Arise, Jerusalem, stand upon the height and look toward the east, and see your children gathered (συνηγμένα) from west and east.

2 Macc 1:23-29. And the priests prayed . . . O Lord . . . Gather together (ἐπισυνάγαγε) our scattered people, deliver them that serve among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that you are our God. Punish them that oppress us and proudly do us wrong. Plant your people again in your holy place, as Moses said.

2 Macc 2:5,7. And when Jeremiah came there, he found a hollow cave, in which he laid the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and he sealed the door. . . . saying, 'As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather (συναγάγη ὁ θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγῇ) his people again together, and receive them unto mercy.'

2 Macc 2:17-18. We hope also that God . . . as he promised in the law, will soon have mercy upon us and will gather (ἐπισυνάξει) us from everywhere under heaven into his holy place.

Jub 1:15. After this they will turn to me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I shall gather them from among the Gentiles.

TNaph 8:3. God will appear . . . to save the race of Israel, and to assemble (ἐπισυνάξει) the righteous from among the nations.

T. Asher 7:7. But the Lord will gather (ἐπισυνάξει) you in faith through the hope on his compassion.

T. Ben 10:11. All Israel will be gathered together (συναχθήσεται) unto the Lord.

PssSol 11:3. Stand up on high, Jerusalem, and behold your children gathered together (συνηγμένα) from the east and the west by the Lord.

PssSol 17:28. And he shall gather together (συνάξει) a holy people.

PssSol 17:50. Blessed are they that shall be born in those days, to behold the blessing of Israel which God shall bring to pass in the gathering (συναγωγῇ) of the tribes.

2 ApocBar 78:7. He will not forever forget or forsake our offspring, but with much mercy will assemble again all those who were dispersed.

⁷ The enumeration of the verses of this chapter varies in the different versions, due to alternative numeration and division of the hemistichs of the text.

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